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† SKETCH of the HISTORY of LITURGIES:
comprising a Particular Account of the LITURGY of the CHURCH of ENGLAND.

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THE LIFE OF GROTIUS.

By JAMES NICHOLS, F.S.A.
Author of "Arminianism and Calvinism compared."

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THE

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 OCTOBER, 1832.

ART. I.—*The Apostolicity of Trinitarianism.* By the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D. 2 vols. 8vo. London. Rivingtons.

THERE is something very distressing in all controversy relative to the most awful mysteries of the Christian faith. It is distressing, first, because it brings close to our thoughts the portentous fact, that mankind have been for ages in a state of conflict—frequently of very bitter conflict—relative to matters that pertain unto their eternal *peace*. It is, further, distressing, because it is very apt to bring out into action all the most violent *polemical* propensities of our nature; as we find abundantly intimated in our proverbial use of the words *Odium Theologicum*, whenever we wish to express the utmost intensity of uncharitable feeling. It is, if possible, still more distressing, because it compels us to bandy about the most awful themes and phrases—to treat the things which angels humbly desire to look into, like so many critical and historical problems—and, almost, to sit down to the examination of the great mysteries of Godliness, just as if they were a sort of puzzle, tossed into the world to exercise the perverse ingenuity of man. And yet, afflicting and dangerous as it is, the temptation must be encountered. It must needs be that heresies arise among us, so that *they which are approved may be made manifest*. What, therefore, remains for us but to convert this formidable necessity into an occasion of good: to consider religious controversy, not as a luxury and a privilege, but as a very great positive evil; from which, however, under the guidance of God's Holy Spirit, much benefit may, eventually, be extracted, on behalf of the Church which he hath purchased by the precious blood of his Son?

These considerations, we are quite confident, are habitually present to the mind of Mr. Faber. He has here produced two

volumes of controversy, on the whole, as fair and temperate as we recollect to have met with. We are, further, of opinion that, for the more immediate purposes for which it was composed, his work is triumphant and irresistible. The *Humanitarian* heresy had been broken to pieces like unto a potter's vessel beneath the blows of former assailants. All that was left was, to burn it with fire, and to stamp it, and to grind it very small, even till it should be as small as dust, and to scatter the dust thereof to the four winds of heaven. This Mr. Faber has performed, as it appears to us, not altogether without some little complacent consciousness of the havoc which he was making, but, nevertheless, in a tone of becoming moderation and courtesy.

Before we proceed to our analysis of Mr. Faber's argument, it will be expedient to look back, for a moment, on what has been achieved by those, who have trodden this great wine-press before him; and, moreover, by way of preparation for that review, it may be advisable to offer some considerations on the general principle which must guide us in our attempts to terminate all religious controversies—all controversies, at least, which are immediately connected with conflicting interpretations of the Bible.

In one thing, then, all parties are sure to agree; that is, all parties who profess to receive the sacred Scriptures as the sole depository of revealed truth. They will all allow that the authority of the Scriptures is final, and that no appeal must be made to any other authority. And nothing, of course, could be more simple and direct than this mode of decision, if it were found that the faculties of men were so constituted, or their passions so regulated, as, ultimately, to receive the same impression from the responses of that supreme oracle, upon a careful comparison of them with each other. It is manifest that, if this were the case, there would either have been no controversies at all, or, that they would have been extinguished as fast as they arose.

Unhappily, however, the human race, in its present condition, is apparently not gifted with the capacity to derive the same uniform instruction from the divine communications. They have eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand; but, nevertheless, such is the vast divergency into which they are constantly betrayed in the exercise of their faculties, that one would sometimes imagine that there was no sort of general similarity in their constitution,—but that every individual, or at least every class or sect, were furnished with a set of mental organs, respectively peculiar to themselves. Under these circumstances, it would be quite in vain to content ourselves with an appeal to Scripture. It would be an utterly hopeless thing for two men to say to each other—Let us seek for concord solely in the language

of the Bible, and let us cast all human explanations or conjectures to the winds. They would, probably, soon discover that, in spite of all their attention, and all their sagacity, and all their candour, the language of Scripture would, somehow or other, speak very differently to each of them, and, in some instances, would only confirm them in their original disagreement. And at length they would be brought to listen, with reluctant patience, to the exclamation of Tertullian (produced by Mr. Faber)—

“What do you think to gain by all this, my most accomplished Scripturists? What one of you denies, is affirmed by his antagonist; and, again, the assertions of one are met by a flat denial from the other. You will, in truth, but lose your voices in the loudness of debate. And what can you hope to gain, but a vast secretion of bile, from listening to each other's *perversions*?”

In short, to think of assuaging theological contest, merely by throwing down the Bible between the conflicting ranks, would be a proceeding about as hopeful, as to toss a copy of the Scriptures into the ocean, with a view to still the raging of its waters. If every volume of human exposition or controversy were, at this moment, swept away from the earth, and blotted from the memory of man, the only effect would be, that the business of disputation would have to begin again; and to begin, too, under circumstances still more desperate than before. And yet, in spite of these very obvious considerations, we perpetually hear contending parties disclaiming every guide but the written word of God. And by no party is the protest against all sublunary teaching more loudly echoed, than by that, which proclaims the doctrine of our Lord's Divinity, to be a most abominable corruption of the truth. We are told by Mr. Lindsey, for instance, that “the authorities of men are nothing; that it is Holy Scripture alone—or Holy Scripture unadulterated by any human interpretation—which must finally decide the point at issue, between the Trinitarian and Antitrinitarian.” And Mr. Haynes, as we are informed by the same writer, was quite persuaded, that “the word of God alone is to settle the matter; and that no regard is to be paid to any human scheme or explanation of that word.” All which, (when the noise of these sonorous phrases has died away), will be found to amount to nothing more than this—that the Humanitarians are firmly determined to adhere to the Bible—(we do not quite know whether we are to add the *whole Bible*)—and nothing but the Bible, and to throw away all human interpretation of the Bible—their own interpretation always excepted. And, by virtue of this laudable resolution, they, some of them, profess to have arrived at “a full persuasion of the truth of their sentiments concerning God and Jesus Christ;” to be relieved

“from all doubts, scruples, or secret misgivings respecting the possibility of their being mistaken;” in a word, to have attained the confidence which is only to be felt in resting on “a foundation *most certain and infallible.*”*

This is the way in which many an honest divine has *deceived* himself into a belief that, himself and his followers excepted, the world is given over to a strong delusion. It is all, he says, because men will not appeal to Scripture, and to Scripture only! All this while, the worthy man seems utterly to forget that his own appeal is only one among a vast multitude of similar appeals; and, when he talks of referring all controverted matters to the decision of the Bible, he means, though he may not be aware of it, just nothing more or less than referring them to his own exposition of the Bible. And, because he disregards all other appeals, and rejects all other expositions, but his own, he fancies that he alone gives due honour to the majesty of God’s word. The fact, however, is, that the most laborious and anxious investigator of controversies, and creeds, and interpretations, is quite as true to the majesty of God’s word as the most sweeping denouncer of all human schemes. Nay, he is, generally speaking, much more true to it. He knows, (at least, if he is a Protestant professor of Christianity,) that the *authority* of the Bible is sole and supreme. But then, he also thinks it expedient to ask himself the exact meaning of that proposition; and he has no difficulty in perceiving it to be just this,—that the Bible is the only book of which it is necessary to find out the meaning, in order to be in possession of the method of our acceptance with God; and that when we are clearly in possession of that method, there is no other authority which can absolve us from the obligation to embrace it. He would be very glad, perhaps, if the meaning could be found out without toil, and if all mankind could agree about it. But mankind do *not* agree about it; and it *cannot* always be found out without toil. He, therefore, humbly prepares himself for the labour of discovering the sense of Scripture; and, by so doing, he contributes most effectually towards the mitigation of controversy and discord.

But then comes the question—by what process is the meaning of Scripture to be ascertained and established in cases where men have widely differed in their exposition of Scripture? To iterate that this must be done by appealing to the Bible is, of course, to say that a litigated matter is to be decided without judge, or jury, or witness. Each party, it is true, may wrap himself in a persuasion that the truth and the justice are with him.

* See Faber, *Introd.*

But it will be to no purpose for either of them to tell the world that he *must* be right,—for that he has himself looked carefully into the text of the law, and has fully ascertained that the law has decided in his favour. He will evidently take nothing by this motion but the pleasure of meditating and declaiming on his own sagacity and integrity, and on the obtuseness or the dishonesty of his antagonist. And this brings us to the very tug of the difficulty: Where is a judge to be found? The Great Founder, and Prophet, and Doctor of the Church is no longer, visibly, among us. We cannot appeal to him, in person, for a definitive sentence on the matters in debate. The Romanist, indeed, will tell us that we have his Representative on earth, and that we are justly punished, by our dissensions, for having deserted the Living Oracle. But, unfortunately for his remonstrances, the Infallibility and the Power of that great Interpreter, are, themselves, among the controverted matters. So that, in the absence of any accessible and authorized tribunal for the determination of our disputes, what must we do but seek for some principle or other which shall stand, to us, in the place of “an Umpire to whom both parties may be willing to submit, or at least, to whom an impartial spectator will allow that they ought to submit?”* And what Arbitrator can we hope to find so unexceptionable as the voice of Apostolic and Primitive Antiquity? Where shall we look for witnesses so trustworthy and venerable as the ancient Doctors and Expounders of the Church? And who shall tell us, if *they* cannot tell us, what was the unbroken tradition of doctrine and interpretation from the days of the Evangelists down to the establishment of Christianity throughout the civilized world?

The dispute, then, between the Trinitarian, and the modern Anti-trinitarian, being clearly a dispute, *not* respecting the *authority* of Scripture, but respecting the *right interpretation* of Scripture,—let us, next, consider what has already been attempted by our Divines towards the settlement of that dispute, upon the principle above suggested. We shall thus be in a condition distinctly to understand what it is that, on the supposition of their success, they have left to be achieved by Mr. Faber.

The first great work, then, upon this subject, which presents itself to the recollection of every English Theologian, is the celebrated Defence of the Nicene Faith, by Bishop Bull; the object of which was to establish this point,—that the doctrine, embodied in the Nicene Creed, respecting the person and nature of the Son, was, invariably, and from the very first, the doctrine held by all the Ante-Nicene doctors: the four grand points

* Fab. *Introd.*

embraced in that doctrine being—1. The pre-existence of the Son: 2 and 3. His con-substantiality and co-eternity with the Father: and 4. His æconomical subordination to the Father.

Next to this, stands the Treatise of the same profoundly learned writer, entitled the “Judgment of the Catholic Church, &c.” with which may be associated the Treatise of Waterland on “The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity;”—the main purpose of both which treatises is, to establish the necessity of believing that Christ is very God.

The third Treatise of Bishop Bull, viz. “The Primitive and Apostolic Tradition,” &c. is chiefly occupied in showing, that Justin Martyr did not borrow the doctrine of the Trinity from the Platonic schools; and that he was not the first that introduced that doctrine into the Church.

After a long interval, Bull and Waterland were followed by Bishop Horsey, of whom nothing more need be said in this place, than what was said of him by Dr. Parr,—that *he slew Priestley!*

To the exploits of these worthies we have now to add a very valuable performance of our own time, namely, the work of Dr. Burton, entitled “The Testimonies of the Ante-Nicene Fathers to the Divinity of Christ;” exhibiting a copious collection of the personal sentiments of the most distinguished doctors, anterior to the first Council of Nice, relative to the Nature and Character of our Saviour.

In these works we have a vast body of disquisition, which, supposing it to be successfully conducted, would go a great way towards the settlement of the dispute in question: for it is scarcely credible that the Catholic Church should, for three centuries together, from the days of the Apostles, have held one doctrine, relative to matters of such vital and fundamental importance,—while the leading individuals in that Church were, uniformly, holding and maintaining a doctrine in direct opposition to it.

The object which Mr. Faber has in view, is, in a great measure, distinct from that which the above learned men principally proposed to themselves. He does not appeal to the Fathers as judges and arbiters. He does not even resort to their assistance as advocates. He merely calls them as witnesses. He does not inquire of them, what were their own personal sentiments relative to these high and subtle questions. He only asks them to give their testimony to a *naked historical fact*, and that fact, to state it nearly in his own words, is as follows:

“That, at the respective periods in which those writers flourished, the Catholic Church at large, maintained the doctrine of the Trinity; and that it did so on the express ground of its authoritative derivation from the Apostles.”

From this fact, when once established, Mr. Faber conceives the inference to be quite irresistible,—namely, that the Trinitarian interpretation of God's word, is the true interpretation. For, otherwise, we should be reduced to the necessity of believing that one interpretation was prevalent throughout the Catholic Church in the Apostolic times, and that another interpretation immediately succeeded it, and continued to maintain its ground; the Church, all this while, constantly professing to derive her faith, in regular sequence, from Apostolic authority. But, whatever may be the inference, Mr. F. professes himself to be now concerned with nothing more than the historical establishment of the *fact itself*. He does not even profess, in this work, to busy himself with the question, whether the Trinitarian doctrine is, *in itself*, defensible or indefensible. He does not endeavour, by a metaphysical process, to render it acceptable to human reason. Neither does he labour to recommend it to the hearts of men, by showing its admirable adaptation to the exigencies of their fallen nature. All these are very legitimate, and very momentous departments of Theology. But he has chalked out for himself an entirely distinct region of inquiry; and to that province he very wisely confines himself. The sole question which he has proposed to himself is this,—is there, or is there not, to be found in the writings of the earlier Christians, sufficient testimony to the fact, that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity formed an essential portion of the Christian faith, in the Primitive and Apostolic Church? And to the decision of this question he addresses himself, just as he would address himself to the task of ascertaining, what were, or what were not, the principles of an ancient School of Pagan Philosophy.

In appealing to this sort of umpirage, and in undertaking to settle this particular question, Mr. Faber may be considered as accepting a challenge, *virtually* thrown out by Dr. Priestley: for Dr. Priestley, it is well known, was as loud and confident in his appeal to the judgment and testimony of Antiquity as the most orthodox adherent of the Trinitarian scheme. He is perpetually reminding us, that the opinions of men, especially on momentous and interesting matters, are not liable to great and sudden vicissitudes; and, in the plenitude of his confidence in the value of this maxim, as applicable to his own cause, he ventured, in an evil hour, to put forth the following propositions:—

“ ‘ The true doctrine, concerning the person of Christ, must be allowed to have been held by the Apostles.

“ ‘ They, no doubt, knew whether their Master was only a man like themselves, or, whether he was their Maker.

“ ‘ Their immediate disciples would receive and maintain the same doctrine that they held.

“ ‘ And it *must* have been some time before any other could have been introduced, and have spread to any extent; and, especially, before it could have become the prevailing opinion.’ ”—*Faber, Introd.* p. xxxvi.

We say that Dr. Priestley ventured, in an evil hour, to promulgate these canons; for in so doing, as it appears to us, he has put into the hands of Mr. Faber a weapon sufficient of itself for the utter demolition of the *Humanitarian* system of Scriptural interpretation; or, at the very least, a weapon ponderous and keen enough to hew in pieces all those advocates of that system who presume to appeal to primitive antiquity. And we must avow it to be our opinion, that, in Mr. Faber's grasp, the implement has done its work. It may be true that he has not always wielded it with unerring precision. It may be true that he has dealt with it some feeble and ineffective blows; that he has not always been content with aiming at the vitals of his adversary, but has sometimes wasted his strength in hacking and mangling his extremities. All this may possibly be true, but yet it cannot be doubted that he has left his enemy

“ With twenty trenched gashes on his head,
The least a death to nature.”

His enemy, of course, will not allow this; for, in theological warfare, one does sometimes meet with combatants who seem to be gifted with a sort of strange and monstrous vitality which no mutilation can extinguish; so that they rise again, with all “ their mortal murders on their crowns,” in perfect readiness for another killing. This, undoubtedly, is extremely troublesome to their antagonists. Their antagonists, however, must be content to take them just as they find them. They must be prepared for the labour of repeatedly routing all their foes, and slaying all their slain. And Mr. Faber, probably, knows this far too well to suppose that his own exploits will leave no future victories to be achieved. He will, therefore, be satisfied with the glory of having so handled his opponents, that, in the judgment of every impartial person, they *ought*, by all means, to be dead and buried.

In a word—we can only say, that if any person can look upon the cloud of testimony which Mr. Faber has produced, and yet retain the persuasion that the Saviour of the World was regarded by the Apostolic and Primitive Church as nothing higher than a mere human being, the son of Joseph and Mary—as one, of whom pre-existence, or divinity, in any sense of the word, can no more be predicated than of any other descendant of Adam—the faculties of that person must be very differently constructed from our own. To our perceptions, his work has completed the demoli-

tion of the *Humanitarian* hypothesis. And this, it should always be remembered, is the object which he principally has in view. His performance is levelled, chiefly, against the school of the Priestleys, and the Lindseys, and the Belshams, and the Channings; and we really are at a loss to imagine what more can be done for its destruction. And if it should appear that the argument of Mr. Faber does not, in all its details, and at every step of it, bear upon the Arian hypothesis, with so destructive and overpowering a pressure, as it does upon that of the modern Socinians—and that some portion of the evidence, advanced irresistibly for the overthrow of the former, passes, almost without apparent injury, by the position of the latter—a moment's consideration will be sufficient to show us, that, from the very nature of the case, it was scarcely possible that this should be otherwise. In the first place, nothing is more notorious than the fact, that the early Christian writers were not always led to speculate, or, at least, not led to express themselves, with scrupulous precision respecting the nature and dignity of the Son of God.* That they considered Him as an object of adoration, and spoke of Him as God, we hold to be quite unquestionable. Neither can it be reasonably controverted, that their language respecting Him is, generally, such as harmonizes perfectly well with that formulary of faith which was stamped with the authority of the Catholic Church at the first Nicene Council. That the Son, in their judgment, was consubstantial with the Father, and that this was the original belief of the Catholic Church, may be very safely inferred from the general tenor of their writings; but then, it must be inferred by a process of patient induction and comparison. If we take all the passages together, in which they have expressed their sentiments, and pronounced their testimony, on this subject, the whole will form, as it were, a collection of phenomena, which it will be very difficult to reconcile, and to combine into a consistent scheme of doctrine, on any hypothesis but one—and that one hypothesis is, that they considered the Father and the Son as coessentially divine. On

* This is expressly allowed by Waterland himself. "The first Christians easily believed that Father, Son and Holy Ghost, in whose name they were baptized, and whom they worshipped, were equally divine; without troubling themselves about the manner of it, or the reconciling it with their belief in one God. As men generally believe that God foreknows every thing, and that man is, nevertheless, a free agent, (scarce one, perhaps, in a thousand concerning himself how to reconcile these two positions, or being at all apprehensive of any difficulty in it,) so, probably, the plain honest Christians believed every person to be God, and all but one God, and troubled not their heads with any nice speculations about the *modus* of it. This seems to have been the artless simplicity of the primitive Christians, till prying and pretending men came to start difficulties, and raise scruples, and make disturbances; and then it was necessary to guard the faith of the Church against such cavils and impertinences as then began to threaten it."—(vol. ii. p. 213.) In short, it became needful to fix upon some test, which, like the lance of Ithuriel, should cause Heresy to start up in her own likeness.

this ground, doubtless, it was that the Nicene interpretation of Scripture was adopted as that of the primitive and Catholic Church. And for this reason, too, it must have been, that the Arians were extremely shy of an appeal to the Ante-Nicene authorities, when proposed to them by Theodosius—that, like Dr. Lindsey, they generally preferred an appeal to Scripture only, (in other words, an appeal to their own transcendent faculty of interpreting Scripture)—and that, like him, they were disposed to rely on their own powers of disputation, rather than the exposition of the ancients.* All this may be true, but yet it may also be true, that, before the Nature of the Son became the subject of controversial discussion, they frequently delivered themselves in terms comparatively lax and inconclusive—and that they did not always case themselves, from head to foot, in that defensive armour, which is absolutely needful when once hostilities are commenced. And hence, it might occasionally happen, that an Arian would stand erect and unmoved under the weight of their authority, when it would be amply sufficient to lay an Humanitarian in the dust. The precise relation between the Supreme Deity and his mysterious Word, might, perhaps, plausibly enough, be represented, by a skilful disputant, as a matter of doubtful and diffident speculation among the primitive sages and doctors of the Church. But to contend that Christ was ever regarded by them as a mere human creature, seems to us to be about as hopeful an undertaking, as it would be for future philosophers to maintain, that all the astronomers of Europe, previously to the days of Newton, considered the sun as a ball of red-hot iron, suspended in the heavens.

Another source of difficulty in disputing against Arians, is to be found in the flexible nature of their system. It was perpetually assuming a new variety of form. When its antagonist fancied that his cords were firmly wreathed round it, it instantly put on some different shape, and slipped away from his grasp. The multiplicity of the Arian Creeds is repeatedly noticed by the old ecclesiastical writers. Socrates compares them to a labyrinth;† and Athanasius complains that every year produced some confes-

* διαλέξει μόνον, καὶ οὐκ ἀρχαίων ἐκδέσσει. See Socr. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 10; Sozom. lib. vii. c. 12.

That this was the humour of the Arians is affirmed by the Bishop Alexander, of Alexandria, in an Epistle to Alexander of Constantinople, preserved by Theodoret, (Eccl. Hist. lib. i. c. 4,) and cited by Mr. Faber, (Introd. p. xxix. xxx); in which the writer describes them as disdaining all comparison either with the ancient doctors, or the later teachers—as claiming a monopoly of wisdom and sagacity—as arrogating to themselves the merit of doctrinal discovery—as declaring that things had been revealed to them, such as had never entered the thoughts of any other mortal under heaven.

† Soc. lib. ii. c. 41.

sion of their faith; that they altered the formularies of their belief as often as capricious testators altered their wills; and that their inconstancy was a cause of grievous scandal to the catechumens, and an occasion of broad and open merriment to the heathens.* To what purpose, for instance, would it be to press a high Arian with the church's uniform belief that the Son was begotten of the Father, God of God. He would, instantly, admit the proposition to be true:† but then he would also contend that this language would fully correspond to his own hypothesis; namely, that the Son is a sort of divine Virtue issuing from the Father, (Virtus Paterna)—though not an efflux or emanation (*ἀπέρροια*) from the Paternal Substance.‡ Again—what would be gained, in debate with such an adversary, by producing authorities to show that, according to the primitive belief, the Son was not generated *in time*. To this averment he might fully assent,—as Dr. Clarke actually did assent. But then he would understand by the expression, no more than this—that it is beyond mortal capacity to imagine a time when the Son existed not—that no human mind can plunge so deep into the abyss of antecedent duration, as to reach the first moment of his existence, and so, to *declare his generation*. The consequence of this unsteadiness is, that it is not always a very easy or obvious matter to ascertain the perfect orthodoxy of a Christian writer, even subsequently to the commencement of the controversy. If any one, for example, in his search for ancient authorities, were to find in one of the Fathers the following description of the Son,—*ἄχρονος γεννηθεὶς, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*,—he might probably be tempted to claim that writer, as a valuable witness in favour of the orthodox Trinitarian interpretation. A witness, most undoubtedly, such a writer would be, extremely incommodious to the advocates of the bare humanity of Jesus, and to the opponents of his pre-existence. But the Arian adversary would immediately turn round, and protest that this could be no authority against him: for that the founder of his own sect had actually allowed these very words to be properly applicable to the Son of God.§

* Athanas. cited in Lardner, b. 1, c. 69, vol. vii. p. 275.

† See Burton, *Ante-Nic. Fathers*, p. 403.

‡ Bull, *Def. F. N.* 115.

§ Epiphanius, *Her.* 69, viii. cited in Lardner, b. 1, c. 41, vol. vii. p. 271. In consenting to use the expression *ἄχρονος γεννηθεὶς, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, Arius goes, if any thing, beyond the Nicene Creed itself; at least, if the words, *πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων* in that Creed, are to be translated “before all worlds:” and he goes quite as far, if they signify, *before all ages*, that is, before there could be any imaginable reckoning or computation of time. So that one cannot but agree with Dr. Hey (vol. ii. p. 104 ed. 1797,) that the difference between him and the Church, on this point at least, need not have been the cause of war and persecution. It must, however, be remembered that the Arians were very disingenuous, very untractable, and very turbulent, and quite as full of the anathematizing spirit, as their orthodox antagonists. See Lardner, *ubi supra*.

That this should be so, is intelligible enough, if (according to the reproach originally cast upon them) the Arians were the progeny of those Valentinian Gnostics, who imagined, to use their own mystical jargon, that the WORD issued out of SILENCE; a proposition, which, expressed in the language of common sense, can amount only to this,—that however *inconceivably* remote may have been the commencement of the Son's existence, there must have been a period when the Supreme Essence,—from whom the WORD derived his being,—existed, as it were, in solitary and SILENT Majesty. They who adopted this notion might be very well content to say that the Son was, ἀρχόντως γεννηθείς,—or, in other words, that human reason could be in no condition to predicate, of his beginning, that it took place *in time*. That this notion was, from the first, considered as indefensible by the orthodox, seems, indeed, manifest from the language of Ignatius, who affirms that the WORD did not (as the Gnostics contended) issue out of SILENCE, but was, in the strictest sense of the phrase, *Eternal*.* But there is nothing in the above language, used by Arius to express this notion, which might not have easily found its way into the writings of an orthodox, and even a *Nicene* interpreter of Scripture. Should it, therefore, be asked—"if the Catholic church, from the very first, believed the Son to be strictly *consubstantial* with the Father, why did not her ministers and teachers say so, uniformly, with one consent, and in terms too plain to leave the matter open to future controversy?"—the answer to this question is surely obvious enough. They delivered themselves, for the most part, in terms which sufficiently expressed their adoration of the Saviour; in terms which implied that the union between the Father and the Son is far too intimate for any human faculties to limit, though far too mysterious for any human language perspicuously to define. And it might have been well if the Christian world could have remained content with perpetual abstinence from all search after phraseology of a more precise and *technical* description.† But how could it be sup-

* ΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΙΔΙΟΣ, ὃν ἀπὸ ΣΙΓΗΣ προελθόν. Ign. Epist. ad Magn. p. 134. See Bull. *ibid*.

† Melancthon professed himself content to take refuge in those declarations of Scripture, which enjoin the invocation of Christ.—"Ego me refero ad illas Scripturæ voces, quæ jubent invocare Christum, quod est ei honorem Divinitatis tribuere, et plenum consolationis est." Mcl. ad Camer, 1532. If Christians could always have been content to do the same, what waste of ingenuity, what sacrifices of Christian charity, and human blood might have been spared; and all without the slightest detraction from the dignity of the Saviour. For the Humanitarians virtually allow that prayer to Christ would be decisive of the question: and they accordingly engage in the desperate task of proving that all such invocation is unauthorized by Scripture. Lindsey's *Apology*, p. 135, 3rd edit. 1774.

posed that the earlier Christians should be able to foresee all the fantastic varieties of *doubtful disputation*, which would be engendered, in the course of ages, by the restless curiosity of man? They would be amply justified in saying, *sufficient to the day is the evil thereof*. If heresies arose, it would become the office of the Catholic Church to resist and to correct them. If the enemy could be detected in the work of sowing tares among the heavenly seed, their duty to *the Lord of the harvest* would compel them to expose, and, if possible, to defeat his treachery. If self-willed and wrong-headed men began to *stretch out the line of confusion* over Zion, it would be their business to trace out the boundary between truth and error, with a more broad and vigorous demarcation. To do more than this—to provide, before-hand, for all the possibilities of mistake or perversion, is a task which exceeds the sagacity or vigilance of man. Besides—it may very easily be conceived, that they who entertained the most exalted notions of the Saviour's personal dignity, would willingly forbear the needless introduction of any form of speech, which, while it fortified the citadel of the faith at one point, might, possibly, invite assault upon it in another.

Now, precisely of this description is the phrase *Consubstantial*. It is a phrase which would be very likely to tempt inquisitive or captious minds into a wilderness of perilous speculation. If the Father and the Son—it might be said by one party—be strictly one in essence, it is difficult to explain how the Father could be otherwise than a party to the sufferings of the Son, in the days of his Union with the inferior nature. Again—if you will insist—(another party might object)—upon a community of substance between the Father and the Son, it must inevitably follow that there was some one original substance, which, in the fulness of time, was distributed between the two, and that the period of this distribution was that of Christ's appearance upon earth. For one or other, or for both, of these reasons, the term *Consubstantial*,—(though it had frequently been used by the Catholic Doctors)—is said to have been rejected by the Council of Antioch, sixty years previously to that of Nice.* It was apprehended—(as some have maintained)—that it might open wide a *great and effectual* door to the heresy of Sabellius, on the one hand,†—or (as others

* This rejection, however, is questioned by Professor Burton. See his Statement in Faber, vol. ii. App. ii. No. 1.

† That there was something very ensnaring in the term *Consubstantial*, is curiously illustrated by the fact, that, at one time, Eusebius, who was suspected of Arianism, while loudly professing the Nicene orthodoxy, accused Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch, a vehement Consubstantialist, as the patron of Sabellianism. So the two Bishops fell to writing against each other. And, although they both affirmed, *ἐνωμέρατον τε καὶ ἐνωμέχοντα τὸν υἱὸν εἶναι τοῦ θεοῦ*,—and, further, that God is one in three persons or

have contended) to the cavils of Paul of Samosata on the other.* At all events, it was imagined that it might lead to some pernicious abuse. It can scarcely, therefore, be deemed surprising, if there were some who might tremble at the thought of its public adoption, even after Arius began to rave.† The Orthodox themselves, in short, might, certain of them, dread the Nicene phrase, as a word of potency sufficient to *call up spirits from the vasty deep* of theological inquiry, whom the Church might find it extremely difficult to exorcise.

For some such causes, as we have now been considering, it probably was, that, in the Ante-Nicene centuries, it was not thought necessary, or prudent, to protect the Christian faith with such an iron frontier of definition, as that which was thrown around it by the Nicene Fathers. And we have adverted to these circumstances—not, most certainly, for the purpose of weakening the argument of Mr. Faber: on the contrary, our object has been, solely, to suppress all risings of dissatisfaction or mistrust among his readers, if, while he is moving down the *Humanitarian* ranks, the Arians should, sometimes, appear to come off either slightly damaged, or altogether untouched. This is nothing more than what must inevitably result from the very nature and circumstances of the warfare. The position occupied by the Arians, though very far below the truth, is one of proud security, when compared with that of the modern self-styled Unitarian school. It is, indeed, too frequently found, that, when once a man throws himself from the loftiest pinnacle of orthodoxy, he descends, with prodigious acceleration, to the lowest regions, where his faith is in imminent danger of being dashed to pieces. But if he can but cling firmly to some intermediate point, of respectable elevation, he may often look with something like composure, or even satisfaction, upon the havoc and confusion which is going on in the depths beneath him.

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hypostases,—yet, says the historian, with most amusing naïveté, “I don’t know how it was, but they could neither contrive to agree, nor bear to be quiet.” And it is, further, remarkable, that Eustathius, Consubstantialist as he was, was soon after deposed; as some, indeed, affirm, for immoral conduct, or as others maintain, for leaving too much to the Sabellian impicty.—*Socrates, Hist. Eccl.* lib. i. c. 23, 24. We have seen, even in our own time, certain opinions, which we will not call heretical, but which assuredly bear a strong family likeness to the notions of Sabellius.

It must be observed that in alluding to the Sabellian heresy, we speak of it as it is generally understood. It is well known to the learned reader that the justice of ascribing the Patripassian doctrine, and other absurdities, to Sabellius, has been gravely questioned. See *Beausobre, Hist. Manich.* lib. ii. c. vi; tom. i. p. 533—540. Amst. ed. 1734.

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undertaking, he thinks it expedient to remind his readers of certain peculiarities of the modern Anti-trinitarian school, in their manner of conducting the appeal to Scripture. In the first place, they march into the field with an imposing array of texts, asserting the humanity of the Saviour; a mode of proceeding which can end in nothing but a waste of valuable time. It is just as if one party to a suit at law should insist upon consuming the hours of the Court, by proving a long list of items, every one of which had been distinctly admitted by his adversary. We allow that Christ was a man: nay—we maintain it quite as vehemently as our antagonists. And Dr. Burton has, accordingly,—(perhaps with even an indiscreet excess of confidence)—thought it perfectly safe to abstain from all examination of those texts. We say with an excess of confidence; because it would not at all surprise us, if the Humanitarians were to pervert it into an indication of disguised cowardice; and to affirm that he forbore to produce the texts in question, only because he was afraid to look them in the face! The passages which declare the manhood of Christ, are, next, supported by a reserve, whose office it is, to establish the Son's inferiority to the Father. We may very safely open our columns to the march of this force, likewise; for it can never become master of any position which will prove dangerous to us. We know that the Scriptures represent the Son as inferior to the Father: we only contend that this inferiority is purely the result of a voluntary arrangement or *æconomy*, connected with the derivative Divinity of the second Person,—not of any *essential* difference in the nature of the Father and the Son. But the grand manœuvre of all, is, to advance with a formidable collection of Scriptural authorities for the *Unity of God*. And this manœuvre, of course, we look upon with still more composure, if possible, than the rest of their tactics. Our only objection to it is, that it *wastes time and patience*. The weapons discharged from this quarter must, all of them, fly far above our heads, and light upon a region where there is not an adversary for them to injure, or a work for them to demolish. All this while, not a single inch of the debateable ground is won or lost. The *Unity of God* is an article which we will join with all, who call themselves Christians, in defending against the embattled hosts of Paganism. But if, unfortunately, there must be *bella plusquam civilia* among ourselves, it surely ought to be recollected that the strife is,—not concerning the Unity of God,—but concerning the precise mode in which, according to the representations of Scripture, that Unity subsists. All this has been repeatedly said;—but all this must be said again, whenever we have to do with opponents, who are so delighted with the noise of their artillery, and so unaccountably

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kind. On the contrary, their language was uniformly such as to leave their inquisitors under the impression that the author of their religion was, in their persuasion, a being far exalted above all sublunary power and excellence.

Whether their explanations or defences were always conceived in terms which can be victoriously arrayed against the *highest* Arian opinions, is quite a distinct question. And with regard to this point, a captious adversary might, perhaps, give Mr. Faber some trouble. He seems, indeed, to assume it, as an axiom, that a confession of Jesus as the Son of God, amounts, in the phraseology of the Catholic Church, to a confession of the Son's co-eternal and consubstantial Divinity.* Without presuming to deny that this proposition is capable of proof, we cannot forbear to remark, that if the truth of it might be *assumed*, the contest with every form of doctrine, below the highest orthodoxy, would have been reduced to a process of most comfortable simplicity indeed! This, however, is a position which can hardly be won, or maintained, without a struggle. It was, principally, this very question which imposed on the Church the necessity of explaining the *manner* in which Jesus Christ is the Son of God;† and which has since produced the immortal works of Bull and Waterland. And it is this very point which Mr. Faber himself is labouring to establish. Of the expressions cited by him, for this purpose, in the present chapter, perhaps the strongest is the following, from Arnobius. An angry heathen is supposed to ask the question—"Ergoné Deus ille est Christus?" To which the writer replies—"Deus ille sublimis fuit; DEUS RADICE AB INTIMA;" which last words are rendered by Mr. Faber—"God, radically and essentially." And it must be allowed that language like this savours very strongly of the *consubstantial* doctrine, established about twenty years afterwards at the Council of Nice. But even this expression is hardly sufficient to show that the notion of *co-eternity* likewise entered into the system of the Ante-Nicene faith; for the "*Branch*" might possibly spring from the root of Divinity in the course of *time*; whether immediately before the creation of the universe, or at some period too remote even for the powers of imagination to reach. The whole section, however, from which the words are taken, is quite positive against the Humanitarian doctrine.‡

The fourth chapter of Mr. Faber brings forward the testimony of the Ante-Nicene times to the fact, that Christ was never with-

* Fab. vol. i. p. 405.

† In Beausobre Hist. Manich. Lib. iii. c. 6, the reader will find a brief and admirable exposition of the causes which forced this duty on the Church.

‡ Arnob. adv. Gentes, b. i. s. 53.

out the adoration of Christians: and this chapter he commences with the following axiom; “the notion of *essential Divinity*, and the notion of *Divine worship*, are *reciprocal and correlative*.” We are far from disputing the truth of this proposition. But here, again, we must remark, that, if it is to be treated as an *axiom*, it would, in a moment, effectually cut the knot of controversy. This is so distinctly understood and conceded by the modern Unitarians, that they feel themselves compelled to grapple with that most hopeless of all enterprizes—the attempt to prove that, in early times, Jesus Christ was never an object of invocation or devotion. An Arian, however, will unquestionably refuse to grant this postulate. And if Mr. Faber intimates that he is guilty of idolatry,* he will reply that the charge is utterly unfounded; that he falls not within the danger of the first or second commandment, which merely forbids us to set up images for worship, or to establish a plurality of Gods, at the suggestion of our own unauthorized fancies. ‘The Bible,’ he will say, ‘expressly commands us to adore the Son of God; though the Bible, as we understand it, likewise tells us, that the Son is not consubstantial or co-eternal with the Father; and we may be quite sure, that the Scriptures will enjoin no practice which is chargeable with idolatry. The same God, who has condemned idolatry, has, likewise, called upon us to bow the knee to a Being invested by God himself with attributes of transcendent and ineffable dignity. And nothing can be more safe than the persuasion, that no contradiction can be found in his word. It is, therefore, manifestly beside the purpose to heap up testimony, for the establishment of a fact, which we contend for as urgently as yourselves,—namely, that Divine honours have, in all ages of the Church, been justly rendered to the Second Person of your Trinity.’

It will not, for a moment, be imagined that we are defending these views of the subject. On the contrary, we are unable to see how the Arian system is to shake off the objections of Waterland,—that it involves the worship of the supreme God, and of two subordinate Gods, by infinite degrees inferior to him; or, as he expresses it, the worship of “a Great God, a little God, and a less God.” It may, perhaps, be thought that the highest *Arian* theology is so near to the *Nicene* or *Athanasian*, that the interval is hardly worth contending for *unto blood*. But we apprehend that, on close inspection, they will be found to be just as near as two things can well be, which are immensurably distant from each other! After all, if the Son be merely created or *produced*, and not derived from the substance of the Father, his personal per-

* Fab. vol. i. p. 65.

fection, whatever it may be, must be inconceivably below the perfection of the Supreme Essence; and, if his existence commenced in time—place the moment where you will—there still must have been an eternity between him and the Father. Our observations, therefore, must be understood merely as expressions of doubt respecting the soundness of Mr. Faber's logic, in *assuming* one main point of the debate between the Arians and the orthodox,—namely, that “the notion of *essential Divinity*, and the notion of *Divine worship*, are necessarily reciprocal and correlative.”

The testimonies, however, produced in this fourth chapter, are, of themselves, enough to pulverize the Humanitarian doctrine. As the investigation proceeds, down go the ranks of the Unitarian battle beneath its chariot wheels, till they are well nigh crushed out of all resemblance to a collection of reasoning agents! Neither can it be denied that the Arian host receive occasional and very serious damage from the onset. Many of the missiles, indeed, fly harmless enough round their temples; either because the weapons go something wide of the mark, or because the enemy have the art of nimbly shifting their heads from the line of danger. At times, however, the attack is such as it must require great dexterity to evade. Dionysius of Alexandria, for instance, in the third century, rebukes Paul of Samosata for denying that Christ was to be worshipped, *τὸν πατρὶ καὶ ἀγίῳ πνεύματι*;^{*} words which, undoubtedly, seem to imply no less than a perfect co-equality between the three persons. The same thing appears to be, almost *elaborately*, intimated by Clement of Alexandria, some fifty or sixty years earlier; when he says—“Let us offer praise and thanksgiving to the alone *Father and Son, to the Son and the Father, to the Son the instructor and teacher, and, together also with them, to the Holy Ghost.*”[†] This passage seems studiously constructed to shut out the notion of *inequality* between the three persons; and even an Arian would scarcely contend that any such inequality could have been in the contemplation of the writer. To this, perhaps, we may add the words of Novatian, (A. D. 254,) who ascribes to the Son the attribute of Omnipresence;[‡] a property which one scarcely can imagine to be communicable to the most exalted creature. Nevertheless, such is the ductility of the Arian faith, or, at least, of the Arian profession, that we cannot, by any means, feel perfectly confident that it might not, somehow or other, contrive to accommodate itself even to these forms of speech.

^{*} Fab. vol. i. p. 71. Mr. Faber, however, we presume, is aware that the genuineness of this letter of Dionysius to Paul of Samosata, is by no means free from suspicion. See Dupin, vol. i. p. 152; Engl. Transl. Ed. 1696.

[†] Fab. vol. i. p. 80.

[‡] The power “*adesse omni loco.*” Fab. vol. i. p. 72.

Among the passages produced in this chapter is that celebrated one which has been used by the Papists, to show that the worship of the holy angels, conjointly with the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, was the practice of the primitive Church;—and by Dr. Priestley, to prove that, in the estimation of Justin, the Spirit is not God in any sense, because he speaks of the worship due to the Spirit, in the very same sentence in which he speaks of it as due to angels. Mr. Faber proposes to get rid of the difficulty by printing a part of the sentence parenthetically; so as to separate the *angels* from all connection with the words which affirm, that adoration was due to the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.* The passage will undoubtedly admit of this construction, without any serious violence. But it is impossible to *extort* from an adversary his consent to this modification; and the sentence certainly *reads* more naturally without it. After all, the matter is of no great importance. Justin was a writer by no means celebrated for the precision of his style: and we are greatly disposed to believe, with the Bishop of Lincoln, that he has here (awkwardly enough) introduced the angels purely as the celestial *retinue* of Jesus Christ.† It is not improbable that the words of St. Paul, in 1 Tim. v. 21,‡ may have been floating in his mind; and may, almost imperceptibly, have betrayed him into a mode of expression much more incautious than besseems a writer of controversy or vindication. But be that as it may, one really would imagine that Dr. Priestley must have been under some judicial infatuation, when he thought of pressing this sentence of Justin into his own service. In his anxiety to degrade the worship due to the Son, by the help of this authority, he seems to have forgotten that the same authority must effect a precisely similar reduction in the worship due to the Father. The Supreme God is to be adored in exactly the same degree that the angels are to be adored! But this is constantly the way with writers, who are ambitious of achievements beyond the ordinary powers of man. They resemble unskilful magicians, who summon up their attendant spirits; and then find, when too late, that their familiars become untractable, and work all manner of confusion and mischief to their employers.

In the fifth chapter of Mr. Faber we have the testimony to be elicited from the ancient apologies, the official epistles, and other

* The passage is thus printed by Mr. Faber, vol. i. p. 91.—Εκεῖνόν τε, καὶ τὸν παρ' αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἐλθόντα, (καὶ διδασκάντα ἡμᾶς ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν τῶν ἄλλων ἐπομένον καὶ ἐξομοιομένον Ἀγγέλων στρατον), σεβόμεθα καὶ προσκυνούμεν, κ. τ. λ.—*Just. Apol.* i. Op. p. 43.

† Account of the Writings and Opinions of Justin Martyr, p. 53.

‡ Διαμαρτύρομαι, ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν Ἀγγέλων.—1 Tim. v. 21.

public documents, of the early Church. The remarks which we have offered on the preceding chapter are equally applicable to this. They are enough to exterminate the Humanitarians. It would be difficult to find, in the passages here cited, a single sentence relative to the person of the Saviour, to which any one of that school would not instantly refuse his subscription. From Arnobius up to Clement of Rome, they are all at mortal strife with the hypothesis, that the nature of Christ was not more exalted than the nature of any other son of Adam. It must likewise be allowed, that certain of those authorities look forth, with most formidable aspect, on the Arian system. The council of Antioch, A.D. 269—(that very council which is said to have shrunk from the epithet, *consubstantial*)—described the Son, not only as existing before the ages, but as God, not merely by foreknowledge, or pre-appointment, but in essence and *hypostasis*.* The apology of Dionysius of Alexandria, addressed to the Bishop of Rome and certain other bishops, (preserved by Athanasius,) declares that Christ, being an effulgence from the Eternal Light, must himself be Eternal; and that he was *without beginning*, and always *co-existing* with God.† The strict *co-eternity* of the Son is asserted, though more briefly, yet with equal strength, by Dionysius of Rome,‡ and, before him, by Hippolytus,§ a pupil of Irenæus. All these are expressions which, we apprehend, would be a great deal too much for the digestion of any Arian, even of the highest grade. With regard to some other authorities produced in this chapter,—we question whether they would inflict on him any serious molestation or disturbance. We must, however, leave the reader to satisfy himself on this point, by consulting the volume. It is impossible for us to load our pages with an interminable transcript of quotations.

We next come to the creeds and symbols of the early Christian Church, (c. vi.), and the very sight of them, one might suppose, would be sufficient to turn a modern Unitarian to stone. The

* οὐ προγενέσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐσία καὶ ὑποστάσει, Θεός.—*Fab.* vol. i. p. 123.

† Ἀπαύγασμα ὡν φωτὸς αἰδίου, πάντως καὶ αὐτὸς αἰδὶός ἐστιν.—αἰώνιον πρόκειται, καὶ σύνεστιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπαύγασμα, ἀναρχὸν καὶ ἀειγενές.—*lb.* p. 127. These expressions, it must be remembered, were drawn from Dionysius by his anxiety to vindicate himself from the imputations brought upon him, by some very unguarded language which he had resorted to in his zeal to confound the Sabellians. In order to illustrate the personal distinction between the Father and the Son, he had affirmed, in an evil hour, that the Son was the work (ποίημα) of the Father,—that he was to the Father what the vine-dresser is to the vine, or the ship to the builder!—(*Dupin*, vol. i. p. 152, *Engl. Transl.*) This circumstance is very important, for the purpose of showing how extremely unsafe it is to build up an hypothesis out of materials which were originally got together in haste, with a view to some particular and transient exigency, and collected, perhaps, by injudicious or visionary writers.

‡ εἰ γὰρ γέγονεν τῆς, ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν· ἀὲ δὲ ἦν.—*Fab.* vol. i. p. 129.

§ Ἀυτὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς συναΐδιος.—*lb.* p. 131.

very thought of putting his name to them would surely be enough to petrify a man, who believed in the *simple humanity* of Christ. We put out of the question the creed which Mr. Faber has collected from the fourth catechetical lecture of Cyril of Jerusalem; for that Father lived about the middle of the fourth century. We also pass by the ancient Alexandrian Creed preserved by Athanasius, which may be objected to as a Post-Nicene authority. But let us suppose the confession of Gregory Thaumaturgus,—the two Latin symbols preserved by Tertullian,—and the symbol handed down to us by Irenæus, (the pupil of Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John);—let us suppose these ancient formularies to be laid before a scholar of Dr. Priestley, or of Mr. Belsham, or of any teacher who denies the divinity, the pre-existence, and the miraculous conception of Christ;—and then let us suppose that this person should be desired to testify the sincerity of his reliance on *Ante-Nicene* authority by setting his hand to these *Ante-Nicene* confessions;—what might we expect to be the result? It might surely be anticipated that his tongue would cleave to the roof of his mouth, and that his right hand would forget its cunning, rather than that he would utter a syllable, or pen a letter, which should signify his endurance of these “*palmary corruptions*” and idolatries. And yet—(such a riddle is human nature)—it is by no means impossible that,—within the very next hour after indignantly refusing his assent to the heretical documents in question,—the same person might sit down, with undisturbed complacency, to the perusal,—perhaps to the composition,—of a magnanimous appeal to the faith of the Catholic Church in the three first centuries, as attested by Apologies, and public Letters, and Symbols, and Confessions. What might be the feelings or the conduct of an Arian, if such a test were applied to him, we cannot quite so confidently undertake to pronounce. There would be a tedious labyrinth of examination and conjecture to be traversed, before we could arrive at any probable notion of the effect which it would produce upon his nerves, or upon his conscience. Sometimes he might, possibly, wince under the pressure; and, at other times, he might *set his face like a flint*, and protest that his “*withers were unwrung*.” But,—we repeat it,—the withers of the Humanitarian would be galled all over, and at every point: and he would have nothing for it, but to break away from the snare, and to take refuge again in the large and comfortable pastures, where the hand of the hunter should be upon him no more!

In Mr. Faber’s seventh chapter, we have an appeal to the liturgies of the ancient Church, and, more especially, to her

doxologies, which may be regarded as a sort of compendious creed. An Arian would, here, find himself considerably more at his ease than a modern Socinian. He would not be greatly discomposed by the Clementine liturgy, which may reasonably be considered as a representative of the most ancient forms of public devotion. The prayer—for instance—used at the ordination of bishops, inserted in this venerable document, concludes with these words—"through thy Holy Child Jesus Christ, our God and Saviour." And again, in the consecration prayer, before the administration of the Eucharist—"It is very meet and right to praise the *true* God before all things: for all glory and worship, thanksgiving and honour and adoration be unto *thee*, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, both now and always." Now any one who professed himself willing—(as some Arians did profess*)—to describe the Son as ἀληθινὸς Θεός, might listen to all this without any dire commotion of spirit. But, surely, it would make the ears of any Humanitarian to tingle. He would, however, probably console himself with the recollection that the Clementine liturgy is delivered to us in the Apostolic Constitutions, and must therefore be referred to no earlier period, than the end of the third, or the beginning of the fourth century. But we know not how any solid comfort is to be derived from this consideration. Whatever *corruptions* this liturgy may embody, they must, from its very date, be Ante-Nicene corruptions; and the existence of such corruptions the Unitarian *sometimes* loudly questions,—the Ante-Nicene faith having (according to his frequent averment) been uniformly and purely Unitarian! Besides, ‡ the early use of doxologies,—(manifestly Trinitarian to every intelligent ear,)—is, of itself a circumstance of weighty importance. For, if the Unitarian will not allow these forms to indicate precisely our Nicene doctrine, he must at least confess it to be very strange, that such forms should occur, with perpetual iteration, in the devotions of a society, to whom Jesus Christ was nothing more than a prophet like Moses or Elias. If the early Christians did *not* regard the command to baptize in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, as *implying* a deep and fundamental doctrine,—why should they so constantly unite those three awful names, in their most solemn offices of supplication, praise, and thanksgiving?

The primitive antiquity of the Trinitarian doctrine, Mr. Faber contends, is further established by what he calls the Discipline

* Burton, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 451. By the expression "true God," such persons would only understand "truly God;" and in this sense Lardner understands Arnobius. See bk. i. c. 64. vol. vii. p. 37.

of the *Mysteries*. The origin of this discipline is traced by Mr. + Faber up to the middle of the second century. And, whether the grand secret inculcated were the doctrine of the Trinity, in particular, or the vital peculiarities of the Christian faith, *collectively*,—we greatly suspect that Dr. Priestley and his disciples, had they been among the primitive converts, would have looked exceedingly blank and awkward as the business of initiation proceeded. It is to be feared that they would never have gone through the process necessary to qualify them for retaining their rank among the *Compétentes*. They would, probably, have remained for ever in the condition of *Catechumens*!

It may be worth while to look back, for a moment, upon the nature and origin of the practice in question. The whole scheme of Christian Redemption, it will be remembered, is spoken of by St. Paul as a mystery, laid up for ages in the mind of God, and not fully revealed to his Church until the latter days. This notion was, probably, caught up by the early Christian writers. They were surrounded with heathens, the most intelligent of whom were often boasting of the secrets revealed in the great mysteries of Paganism. All this while, the Christians were conscious that *they* were in possession of a secret incomparably more precious than the priests or the philosophers of their time were able to impart. It was, therefore, not very unnatural that they should adopt the imposing term, which had been sanctioned by the example of an Apostle, and apply it to the profounder doctrines of their own faith. But, further than this,—nothing could be more expedient, or rather, more necessary, than the practice of opening the Christian system to their proselytes in a course of gradual instruction. It was, likewise, a prudent measure of precaution, to charge those of their converts who had completed their course, that they should abstain from all allusion to the wonders which had been disclosed to them, in the presence of their watchful adversaries, lest ignorance or malice should distort or misrepresent their statements. Unfortunately, however, all this was done with so much needless affectation of solemnity, that, to us, it almost bears the aspect of something like a pompous juggle, unworthy of the professors or the teachers of a pure and simple faith. The *adept* was not only rigorously forbidden to reveal the "*mystic wonders*" to them that were without—he was even bound to conceal them from the most forward and impatient Catechumen: for the appropriate instruction of the Catechumen was comparatively general and elementary; and to pour the "awful secrets" into his ear, would be like "giving wine to a sick man." Instead of imparting health and vigour, it would only "drive him to frenzy; in consequence of which, the patient

would die, and the physician would be blamed." "When you were only a Catechumen," says Cyril of Jerusalem, "I did not reveal *the Mysteries* to you; and when, by experience, you shall have learned their sublimity, you will then perceive that the mere Catechumens are unworthy to hear them. But reveal them not in anywise either to the Catechumens, or to those who are not Christians; lest you should thus make yourself accountable to the Lord." But though the Catechumens were not worthy to receive this hidden wisdom, it was frequently found necessary to communicate it to the world at large, without reserve. When the Religion was assailed with calumny and scorn, it would unavoidably become the duty of its champions to disclose the whole truth, as it is in Jesus, in all its *length and height and breadth and depth*. The mystagogue was then compelled to draw the veil aside, and to discard the mysterious phraseology of the hierophant. And hence it was that the words which a disciple might tremble to hear, were nevertheless broadly proclaimed, as it were upon the *house-top*.

What was the *precise* course of instruction given, in the earlier ages, to the *Catechumens*, when they were transferred to the class of *Competentes*, it may not be very easy to determine. Nothing, however, would be more natural, or more prudent, than the practice of reserving for the later stages of the Christian erudition, a full exposition of the relations between the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and of the several offices of each in the œconomy of Redemption. But that the doctrine of the Trinity was, at any time, the sole "palmary secret," seems very far from certain. If, indeed, the testimony of Jerome* may be accepted, relative to the long-established usage of the Church, that doctrine formed the *chief*, though not necessarily the *only*, topic, in which the proselytes were "illuminated," during the forty days of Lent, immediately subsequent to their catechetical course of discipline. And if this were so, it would be abundantly sufficient for our purpose. If "the holy and adorable Trinity" were but *among* the things delivered in the Christian mysteries, from the earliest times, that circumstance would, of course, add confirmation to the other evidence, relative to the nature of the primitive belief. But, at all events—mysteries or no mysteries—it is obvious that the fundamental doctrines of Christianity must, at some period or other in the course of their preparation, have been communicated to the converts from heathenism. And it is clear enough, that those doctrines were taught in such a manner, as must effec-

* "Consuetudo autem apud nos istiusmodi est, ut iis qui baptizandi sunt, per quadraginta dies publicè tradamus Sanctam et adorandam Trinitatem."—Jerom. Epist. ad Panmach. adv. error. Joan. Hieros. Op. Tom. ii. p. 167. Ed. Bas. 1553.

tually have repelled Dr. Priestley from all communion with the ancient Church.

The next head of evidence is the unanimous primitive interpretation, of texts now litigated. And in this department of his process, the author has laboured with exemplary diligence and success. It is asserted by Dr. Priestley that these litigated texts did not convey to primitive Christians the modern notions of the Divinity and pre-existence of Christ. What notions the contested passages conveyed to the Ebionites, who were the earliest Humanitarians, it would be vain to inquire; for those ingenious persons did not expound the litigated texts at all. They went a much shorter way to work: *they got rid of them!* They received no part of the New Testament, except the Gospel of St. Matthew, and they mutilated and corrupted that. But, if any conjecture may be formed respecting their sense of these texts, it was, in all likelihood, precisely because they *did* irresistibly convey the modern notions of Christ's Divinity and pre-existence, that the Ebionites rejected the whole body of the Christian Scriptures, except the single fragment which they could mould to their own purposes. With regard to the great mass of the Catholic Christians, nothing can well be more certain than the fact—that they found in the texts in question no doctrine at all resembling that of the *simple humanity* of Christ. It seems not to have been the pleasure of Dr. Priestley to support, by the production of a single instance, his notable averment—that the early believers could discern in the *now* disputed parts of Scripture no traces whatever of our Saviour's pre-existence or divinity. Mr. Faber, on the contrary, has produced a host of instances in support of the contrary proposition. And, moreover, he has not confined himself to authorities from the New Testament. His Appendix exhibits a long list of scriptural passages, from Genesis to Revelations, together with the *Trinitarian* expositions of those passages, from the writings of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.* To be sure, the expositions which we sometimes meet with in the writings of these ancient worthies, are most ludicrously fantastical; as, for instance, when the *prolation* of the Word is discovered by Tertullian in the passage, "*Eructavit cor meum Sermonem optimum*:"† or, when, in Ps. xcix. 5, "*Exalt ye the Lord God and worship at his footstool*," the *footstool* is "understood as an emblem of the flesh of Christ, which is to be worshipped on account of Christ:"‡ and, again—when Origen doth gravely illustrate the words of Ps. cviii. 9, "*Over Edom will I cast out my shoe*," with the following ingenious and fruitful exposition; "the flesh is the shoe of Christ, which the Lord made use of, and sojourned

* Fab. vol. i. 307—375.

† See Bp. Kaye on Tertull. 549.

‡ See Burton, Ante-Nicene Fathers, p. 292.

in the life of man!"* *Capriccios* like these, may, perhaps, be thought almost enough to stultify the judgment of any adventurer in scriptural interpretation. But, at all events, they show that the doctrine of Christ's divinity, instead of being unknown before the Council of Nice, had got complete possession of the minds of catholic expositors; so complete, indeed, that they seem at times, to have been ashamed of no extravagance, in their anxiety to maintain that doctrine. It is plainly and literally true, that the very absurdities of these expositors may be arrayed against the affirmation of Dr. Priestley: for, so far is it from being the fact, that they were unable to see what he is pleased to call the modern doctrine, in the texts which appear most obviously to inculcate it, that they contrived to find it where no mortals but themselves would have ever dreamed of looking for it. This consideration, most unquestionably, will not be sufficient to establish their character for judicious interpretation; but it must, at least, be sufficient to show that they were anything but humanitarian and unipersonal commentators on Scripture. After all, however, these whims and fantasies of theirs are but occasional eruptions of folly. Their expositions are, in general, of a much more sound material and texture. They form, altogether, an imperishable monument of the primitive opinions. For it is quite inconceivable that the most venerated masters should uniformly have adopted one scheme of interpretation, while the Catholic Church was steadily following another.

The doctrinal uniformity of the Church in very early times is further attested by the report of Irenæus, Tertullian, Melito and Hegesippus. The three former of these are very awkward witnesses to meddle with. Cross-examination will be resorted to in vain, for the purpose of extorting a syllable from them in favour of the Unitarian cause. But, then, Dr. Priestley flatters himself that something may be made of Hegesippus. And Mr. Faber is so much delighted with the office of *showing-up* the treatment of this witness by Dr. Priestley, that he devotes to it no less than twelve or thirteen closely printed pages of his appendix. The whole affair, however, may easily be exhibited in a much shorter compass.

The Doctor, it seems, in the plenitude of his confidence, chuckles over his adversaries in mood and figure; and the following is the syllogism which is to deprive the orthodox, for ever, of all advantage from the deposition of Hegesippus:—

"Hegesippus, according to Eusebius, was a Hebrew Christian;
But the Hebrew Christians denied the divinity of Christ;
Therefore Hegesippus denied the divinity of Christ."

* Burton, *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 293.

Now, our present purpose does not call upon us to disturb the minor proposition of Dr. Priestley. Whether the ancient Hebrew Church denied the divinity of Christ, or whether they affirmed it—our concern at this moment is only with Hegesippus. It appears then, from the report of Eusebius, that this worthy and pious man had occasion to take a journey from Asia to Rome, in the course of which he had an opportunity of associating with many Christian bishops. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the result of his travels. Go where he would, he had the comfort to find the churches professing the *right faith*; namely, the faith “as it is preached by the Law, and by the Prophets, and by the Lord himself.”* Still, however, we are unable to learn, from any extant statement of Hegesippus himself, what this *right faith* was—this faith which was conformable to the Law, and to the Prophets, and to the teaching of Jesus Christ. It is necessary, therefore, to resort to other testimony for the purpose of ascertaining this point. Now, the sentiments of Irenæus and Melito, respecting the *right faith*, are known beyond all possibility of mistake, from their yet existing remains; and nothing can be more indisputable than the fact, that their notions of the *right faith* were, upon the matter in question, in direct contradiction to those of Dr. Priestley: and we further learn from Eusebius, that Hegesippus was in full consent with Irenæus and Melito. The inference is irresistible—namely, that the journeyings of Hegesippus were rendered highly consolatory by the uniform agreement of the churches in a doctrine, which is an utter abomination to the modern school of Unitarians.

It would seem, therefore, that, if this statement be correct, the hypothesis of Dr. Priestley, (to use a nautical phrase,) is completely *in irons*. His composure, nevertheless, in the midst of his difficulties, is perfectly admirable. The gods, who rejoice in the struggles of human fortitude and virtue, might look upon it with delight. He does not scruple to admit that all the churches visited by Hegesippus held the divinity of Christ, (a prodigy of candour in one who habitually regarded that persuasion as clearly Post-Nicene): but still, he is in possession of a very simple and obvious solution of the perplexity. The faithful in those days, he informs us, were in dread of nothing but *Gnosticism*. Provided the Church were free from the inroads of that eleven-headed monster, she might justly exult in her integrity. Any faith, in short, was the *right faith*, then, if it was but clear of that fatal pravity. Trinitarian, or Anti-Trinitarian, it mattered not; nothing but the Gnostic infection could vitiate it. What, there-

* Ἐν ἑκάσῃ διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἐν ἑκάσῃ πόλει οὕτως ἔχει, ὡς ὁ Νόμος κελεύει, καὶ οἱ προφῆται, καὶ ὁ Κύριος.—Heges. apud Euseb. Hist. Ecc. lib. iv. c. 22.

fore, he asks, could be more natural than for Hegesippus to proclaim his satisfaction with the churches which he visited, if he found it untainted with “the only heresy which disturbed the Apostle St. John, and, therefore, the other Jewish Christians in general?” And what are we to conclude, as to his own faith, from these expressions of joy, but, merely, that he himself abhorred the impious reveries of those religionists?

The worst of this ingenious and gallant expedient, (as Mr. Faber remarks,) is, that it instantly suggests the following question:—“If the Gnostic heresy were the only perversion which raised the abhorrence of the pure and primitive Church, why is it that Dr. Priestley has compiled a bulky history, the object of which is to prove that the Trinitarian doctrine is the *palmary corruption* of genuine aboriginal Christianity?” To this, as we apprehend, another objection may reasonably enough be added. Of the comprehensive perversion known by the general name of Gnosticism, our information is extremely imperfect. We are utterly destitute of the works in which it was vindicated or explained by its professors, and, consequently, we know it only by the description of its enemies. Thus much, however, appears tolerably certain—that the Cerinthian *head* of that prodigy was known to utter sounds in marvellous unison with the creed of Dr. Priestley. It proclaimed that Jesus was merely the son of Joseph and Mary. It added, indeed, that some other being, or Æon, whom they chose to call the Christ, descended on Jesus *at his baptism*; but still it denied anything above humanity to the original nature of Jesus himself. In other words, it maintained, substantially, one leading dogma of the modern Unitarians. If, then, Gnosticism, *with all its eleven heads*, were the grand *μορμολυχῆιον* of the ancient Church, what are we to conclude, but that Hegesippus, and the churches which he visited, were filled with abhorrence for a doctrine, similar, in its main feature, to that of the Humanitarians?

On the whole, (to use an illustration of Mr. Faber’s, a little varied,) taking the matter at the very best, the case is much the same as if Bishop Horsely and Dr. Priestley were to meet, and after much amicable but fruitless discussion on their respective schemes of orthodoxy, were to part, with mutual expressions of esteem and gratification, at finding that neither party was infected with the pernicious and visionary notions of Jacob Behmen or Emanuel Swedenborg!

It may, nevertheless, be thought that as we approach the apostolic age, the evidence undergoes considerable rarefaction. It will be found, however, that the vital element, even in that high region, is abundantly sufficient for the preservation of life. Ire-

næus, for instance, was born before the death of St. John. Polycarp was his instructor, and St. John was the master of Polycarp. It is true that the year 175 is the earliest date assigned to the writings of Irenæus. But it does not follow that this is the earliest date of his own opinions, or of the opinions which he ascribes to the Catholic Church. The testimony of his old age must be taken to relate to the whole period of his Christian profession. He must be considered as reporting what he had learned from Polycarp, whose martyrdom did not take place till the year 147. Now, Irenæus speaks of Jesus Christ as “our Lord, and God, and Saviour”—as “born of a virgin, and uniting man to God”—as “the Word of God, and as our God.” And this belief he declares to have been universal in all the churches—in the East and in the West—among Iberians and Celts—in Egypt and in Libya, and the central regions of the earth; and he makes this declaration in a treatise against *heretics*. He, moreover, affirms that these are precisely the things which were taught by Polycarp, as the doctrine he had received from the Apostles; and, further, that “all the churches of Asia, and they who succeeded Polycarp, down to the present day (A.D. 175), give testimony to the same.” We will not inquire whether an Arian might, or might not, have sat at the feet of Irenæus, and listened to these things with entire tranquillity and satisfaction. But what would Dr. Priestley, or his colleagues, or his successors, say, if the holy father in question were present to repeat in their ears the testimony which has been preserved in his writings? Would Dr. Priestley say to him what he has said to us; namely, that, early as the period was, there had been ample time for corruption to creep in, and, like a gangrene, to eat out the very core of the aboriginal and apostolic faith? And if he were to say this, what is the answer which he would instantly receive? Would not that primitive and holy bishop have gravely reminded him, that corruption and heresy were one and the same thing; that whatever corruption had then crept in, was to be found, not among the Catholic communities,—not among those who formed their churches on the foundation of prophets and apostles,—but solely among the “*abassistents*” from the communion of the faithful.* And, upon hearing these words, where would Dr. Priestley be compelled to take his place?—among the advocates of genuine and apostolic Christianity, or among the “*palmary corruptors*” of it, exposed and scourged by Irenæus?

But we must now pass on to Mr. Faber’s second volume: the first part of which is devoted to the consideration of Dr. Priestley’s very hazardous assertion, that the *Common People*, among the

* See Faber, vol. i. c. 10, 11.

early Christians, believed nothing of the pre-existence and Divinity of Christ. The first witness called by the Doctor, in support of this proposition, is St. Athanasius; a witness whom, of all others under the sun, one would think, a modern Unitarian would be anxious to keep out of Court. The deposition of an inveterate adversary, however, is, undoubtedly, of all testimony, the most valuable, provided he can but be made to speak plainly in our favour. The production of such testimony is, nevertheless, always a dangerous experiment; and so it has turned out in the present instance. For, all that can be extorted from Athanasius, just amounts to this;—in speaking of the innovation (καινοτομία) of Paul of Samosata, he complains that blasphemies like this were found, to that very day, extremely pernicious to *the many*, and more especially to those who were deficient in intelligence (ἡλαττωμένοι περὶ τὴν σύνεσιν). And he adds, as a sort of general proposition, that those who are infirm in knowledge, are apt to *fall away*, unless they shall have been firmly persuaded to *persevere in the faith*.^{*} And the passage concludes with an urgent exhortation to guard that faith *which had been handed down*, and to turn away from unholy novelties. It appears, therefore, from this Father, that he regarded the *Unitarian* error of Paul as a calamitous innovation—that, even in his time, it was working confusion in the brains of simple men, who were always liable to *fall away* from the truth, unless they were previously fortified with a strong resolution to adhere to it,—and that, consequently, it was the duty of all Christians to guard themselves watchfully against all perversions of recent growth. So much for the evidence of St. Athanasius; and we heartily wish the Unitarians joy of it.

Dr. Priestley's next witness is Origen; undoubtedly a much more fanciful and unsteady personage than the former. And yet we cannot perceive that a syllable has been extracted from him that can help to keep upon its legs the cause which he is summoned to maintain. The strongest thing said by Origen is this—that “the multitudes of reputed believers are instructed, or disciplined, in the shadow of the word, and not in the *true* word, which is in the opened Heavens.”† This sentence, together with the rest of Origen's testimony, is submitted, by Mr. Faber, to a very diffuse examination; in the course of which we have a good deal of very tedious erudition respecting the Christian Mysteries.‡ The result of the whole, however, appears to be simply this—that all proselytes would be generally reputed, by the world, as be-

^{*} Ὅθεν, οἱ περὶ τὴν γῶσιν ἀδυνατῶντες, ἀποπίπτουσιν, εἰ μὴ πεισθῆεν ἐμμένειν τῇ πίστει.—See the whole passage in Faber, vol. ii. p. 21.

† Τὰ δὲ πλῆθη τῶν πεπιστευκέναι νομιζομένων, τῇ σκία τοῦ Λόγου, καὶ οὐχὶ τῷ Ἀληθινῷ Λόγῳ Θεοῦ, ἐν τῷ ἀνεργῶτι θυρανῶ τυγχάνοντι, μαθητεύεται.—Cited in Faber, vol. ii. p. 35.

‡ Ib. p. 32—57.

lievers, from the first moment of their admission to the discipline of Catechumens—that, however, all this while, the secrets of the Christian faith were gradually opened to them—that the more general principles of the Gospel were first disclosed—and afterwards its higher and more peculiar doctrines: so that multitudes, who, in general estimation, were numbered among believers, would still see only the *shadow* of the truth, while others, more advanced, would be admitted to a full contemplation of its substance. And this *multitude of babes in Christ*, while feeding upon *milk*, are mistaken by Dr. Priestley for a host of mighty men, full of *strong meat*, and loathing the windy diet wherewith the Trinitarian purveyors were *puffing up* the unhappy persons committed to their care!

After Origen, Tertullian is called into Court. Tertullian, to be sure, has on various other occasions repeatedly and expressly affirmed that the pre-existence and divinity of Christ was believed and maintained by the Catholic and Apostolic Church. But this does not deter Dr. Priestley: for Tertullian, he is confident, will nevertheless be compelled to make a confession—an angry and unwilling confession—that the *majority* of Catholic believers in his time rejected that very doctrine with abhorrence. Unfortunately, however, he is unable to make Tertullian confess any such thing. All he can get out of him is to the following effect:—that shallow and unthinking persons, who had been converted from Polytheism to Christianity, were apt to complain, that they were still called upon to worship three Gods. The adjustment or œconomy which prevailed in the Divine Councils was too much for their comprehension or their faith,—and they, accordingly, took fright at it. They were unable to conceive that the number and the arrangement of the Trinity should do otherwise than effect a division of the Unity: whereas, the Unity derives the Trinity from itself; and instead of being destroyed, is actually maintained and *administered* by it. And, since simple and unlettered men must *always* form the larger portion of believers, the prevalence of this misconception is the more easily accounted for.* The case, therefore, turns out to be—that many persons who had abandoned the worship of *many Gods*, and embraced Christianity, were, nevertheless, startled at a profession of faith which *appeared*

* *Simplices enim quique, ne dixerim imprudentes et idiotæ—(quæ major semper credentium pars est)—quoniam et ipsa regula fidei, a pluribus deis sæculi, ad unicum et verum Deum, transfert, non intelligentes, Unicum quidem sed cum suâ 'Οικονομίᾳ esse credendum)—expavescunt ad Οικονομίαν. Numerum et dispositionem Trinitatis, divisionem præsumunt Unitatis: quando Unitas, ex semetipsâ derivans Trinitatem, non destruat, sed administretur.* See the whole passage in *Faber*, vol. ii. p. 59. On the true import of the word *idiotæ* in this passage, see *Bishop Kaye on Tertullian*, p. 530, note (185).

to inculcate the worship of *three Gods*; and that they who were assailed with those misgivings, were to be found,—where any reasonable man would naturally look for them,—among the weaker and more untutored brethren, who must always form the majority of every Christian community.

The nature of the *economy* which created such a panic among these sagacious persons, is well known to every tyro in theology. It was no other than the mysterious and voluntary distribution of offices, among the three Sacred Persons of the Trinity. That this should often be difficult of comprehension to rash and unlearned men, is far from surprising: and it is further, no matter of wonder, if such persons should frequently be tempted to take refuge from their perplexities, in some form of Unitarian belief. Unitarians, accordingly, they, many of them, became; but Unitarians, who, most assuredly, would have expelled Dr. Priestley from their communion. Such rigid *Unitarians* were they, that they would hear of no distinction between the Father and the Son. Instead of denying the divinity of Christ, they identified him, both in person and essence, with the Father. They were seduced, in short, to enlist themselves among the *Monarchians*,* under the standard of their leader Praxeas;—the very *heresiarch* against whom Tertullian composed the treatise, from which Dr. Priestley has produced the above testimony, in confirmation of the *Humanitarian* hypothesis!

The reader will, of course, perceive, that we have given no more than the substance, or rather the mere result, of the evidence of these three witnesses. The task of sifting them has cost Mr. Faber no less than eighty mortal pages, and, we fear, will cost his readers a good deal of patience. He has, however, effectually deprived Dr. Priestley of all advantage from their evidence, though he has, as it appears to us, been something longer about it than he needed to have been.

In Mr. Faber's sixth chapter, vol. ii., he considers the monstrous proposition, that the doctrine of the Trinity was introduced into Christianity by Justin Martyr, and that the notion was imported by him from the Platonic schools. All this has repeatedly been discussed: and who can muster one element of doubt that Justin became a Christian, not by virtue of his Platonism, but in spite of it? If he borrowed any part of his Christianity from Platonism, it must have been much in the same sense that the modern chemists borrowed their science from the mystery and the jargon of the ancient alchemists. The hope of transmuting all metals into gold engaged a succession of acute and

* The party of Praxeas were sometimes so called from their anxiety to maintain the sole government of God.—Mush. vol. i. p. 235. Bishop Kaye, on Tert. p. 531.

indefatigable men in a long course of experiments into the properties of material substances; and those experiments, after repeated failure and disappointment, gradually led to the discovery of a vast collection of invaluable truths. But still, nothing could well exceed the absurdity of affirming that Fourcroy, or Lavoisier, or Davy, *borrowed* their science from the nonsense of the Rosicrusians. Much after the same manner, Justin Martyr went through the whole Encyclopædia of ancient philosophy; and he found in it,—at the beginning, the middle, and the end,—nothing but vanity and vexation of spirit. And so, *his* course of experiments brought him at last to the knowledge of the truth. What was the actual event or fact which finally opened his mind to the reception of the truth, is a comparatively unimportant matter. In one part of his writings he ascribes the revolution to the incomparable fortitude with which the Christians supported their persecutions; in another to the instructions and remonstrances of an aged and venerable personage whom he met upon the seashore. These accounts are *different*, it is true, but we cannot perceive that they are at all *contradictory*. The courage and composure of the martyrs may have awakened him to a sense of the value of Christianity, as a practical principle of unrivalled energy and power. The statements of some casual friend or companion may have satisfied him of its theoretical superiority above every other extant scheme of moral science or theology; and he may, naturally enough, have been willing to give dramatic effect to this last mental change, by ascribing his conversion to the wisdom of an aged man with a long beard and a reverend aspect. Whether this was certainly and actually so, it is needless to inquire. At all events, it is very much in the manner of all writers of dialogues; and it is extremely well calculated to exhibit, in an interesting and striking way, the progress of the writer's feelings and convictions. But, whatever may be the real fact, the result is obvious. He forsook Stoicism and Platonism for Revelation—the porch of Zeno for that of Solomon. And where can words be found to stigmatize the perverseness of describing the Christianity he embraced, as the produce of the errors which he had cast away?

Mr. Faber has shown, as many other writers have shown, that instead of borrowing his Christianity, or any part of it, from the *wisdom of the wise*, he is perpetually and urgently insisting that whatever fragments of truth are to be gathered in the former schools, were collected by the heathen masters from the traditions and revelations of the Jewish Scriptures. Whether this notion be tenable, or not, is a question which is just nothing to the purpose. That it was Justin's *belief*, cannot for a moment

be doubted by any mortal who has ever looked into his works. He is, perhaps, fantastic, and even piteously absurd, in his efforts to find out the vestiges of Scriptural verity in the legends and reveries of the heathen fablers or sages. But it was, beyond all doubt, his persuasion, that the best parts of the recondite classical theology, as well as the most bewitching mythological fictions of the olden time, were no better than a wretched mimicry of the awful visions imparted to seers, and prophets, and inspired men. Every thing that was touched by the philosophers and the poets became, in his judgment, a villainous caricature of those sacred realities; and dæmons, as he fancied, were the secret *getters-up* of this vile and unholy masquerade. And, how any individual, advancing grave pretensions to argumentative power, historical information, or common sense, can venture to affirm, that Justin derived any one article of his Christian belief from fantasies which he evidently despised, and even hated,—is one of those problems which do sometimes cross us, in our contemplation of that great enigma—the moral and intellectual nature of man!

That his imagination should be occasionally haunted by the phantoms of his departed speculations, is nothing more than might reasonably be expected; and these apparitions may have led him many a wild and devious chace, in search of resemblances and analogies, between the dreams of Plato and the revelations of Apostles. The same thing has doubtless happened to many an ancient doctor of Christian theology, who had, nevertheless, been delivered from the snares of *philosophy and vain deceit*. Something of the same kind may have happened to divines of later times; and, as Mr. Faber contends, actually has happened to one of the greatest divines of modern days. The very man—the pounding of whose gigantic mortar Dr. Priestley has undergone—the mighty Bishop Horsley, Mr. Faber affirms, is, himself, an example of it. That great writer fancied that he could discover traces of the Christian Triad, “in the mysteries of Orpheus and Pythagoras—in the traditional representations of Plato—in the secrets of the Egyptian priesthood—in the theology of Persia and Chaldea—in the orgies of the Samothracian Cabiri,—and in the worship of the three gods of the Roman capitol.”* In all this learned labyrinth of speculation, the bishop’s path may have been right, or it may have been wrong. But,—whether it were right or wrong—

* See Faber, vol. ii. c. viii. p. 222. Mr. Faber here states his own opinion to be, that the Triads of the Gentiles had a totally different source; and that, with a singular mixture of Sabianism and Materialism, they originated from the three sons of Adam; transmutatively re-appearing in the three sons of Noah.” And he refers us to his “Origin of Pagan Idolatry,” b. i. c. 1.

if we would imagine the consummation of human absurdity, we should only have to suppose some future historian of "palmary corruptions" talking of the matter, much after the fashion of Dr. Priestley; and complaining that "till the latter end of the 18th century the Anglican Church of England was a pure and simple Humanitarian Church,—but that, at that inauspicious period, there arose one Horsley—a wrong-headed prodigy of learning,—with a brain horribly stuffed with the circumstance of triads, and other by-gone extravagances—and that from that moment, alas! the Apostolic Church of England was frightened from the aboriginal orthodoxy, by a *phantasmagoria*, conjured up from the depths of pagan erudition." And yet,—monstrous as all this would be—we know not that it would be much more monstrous than the hypothesis, which tells us, that the Doctrine of the Trinity burst into the primitive Church through the *Ivory Gate* which was set up in the cranium of certain Platonizing doctors and catechists! The truth of the matter is, that the ancient philosophy, both classic and oriental, was a sort of limbo, from which the early *Heretics*—not the Catholic Christians—were constantly importing an endless variety of chimerical and abortive fantasies: and their practices, in this respect, were exposed and condemned without mercy by the Catholic Fathers. Irenæus, for example, declares that the *heretics* had contrived to make up a miserable patch-work out of the most worthless rags of philosophy. Tertullian affirms that the philosophers were the patriarchs of all the *heretical* families and tribes: and that the store-house of philosophy furnished the "*seasoning*" which gave their relish to the mixtures and preparations of *heresy*. That the orthodox may, likewise, have been, occasionally, tempted to embellish the surface of Christianity with colouring-matter from the old philosophical laboratory, may possibly be true. But it is also true, that they never resorted to this species of alchemy for the purpose of transmuting its substance.

There is a long chapter in this volume respecting that most intrepid allegation of the Unitarians, that the New Testament furnishes no authority for the adoration of Christ. We cannot undertake to travel over this ground with Mr. Faber. We have space only for the remark, that the whole history of biblical criticism can scarcely furnish a more disgraceful instance of ignorance and effrontery, than the expedient by which the Unitarians propose to evade the force of those passages in the New Testament which bear upon the question. Speaking of it purely as a matter of scholarship, and setting aside, for the moment, the sacred importance of the doctrine it involves, we may safely

affirm, that a much more ignominious blunder can hardly be found, than the attempt to extort from the passages in question the meaning, that the primitive believers did—*not* invoke Christ—but merely call themselves by his name. A comparison of those passages in which the word ἐπικαλέσμαι occurs, in the Septuagint and the New Testament respectively, must set the matter at rest for ever. This comparison is actually made by Mr. Faber to an extent abundantly sufficient for the purpose,* and the clear result is, that in Hellenistic Greek, when ἐπικαλέσμαι is followed by an accusative case, it always implies religious invocation. When the same word is used to denote the *imposition of a name*, the form is entirely different: thus, ἐπικέκληται τὸ ὄνομά μου ἐπ' αὐτὸν, signifies, “he is called by my name”—or, more literally, “upon him my name has been called, or pronounced;” that is, my name has been *imposed* upon him. So sensible was even Mr. Lindsey of this, that he plainly allows the address of Stephen to our Lord, to have been neither more nor less than a *prayer*: and he disposes of the difficulty arising out of this admission, in a manner which we hope is satisfactory to the conscience and understanding of his followers; he reminds us that Christ was, at that moment, *visible* to Stephen, and might *therefore* properly be invoked by him. Dr. Priestley has a different expedient. If this expression,—he says,—*must* signify invocation, it is not invocation that implies worship, but simply invocation, or address, by way of *appeal*. Stephen *appealed* to Christ from the unjust judgment of the Sanhedrim, just as Paul *appealed* to Cæsar from the iniquity of Festus!

Before we dismiss this work of Mr. Faber, we have one or two words to offer, on the Appendix to his second volume. In No. III. he labours hard to show that there is nothing in Origen which can fairly be held to discountenance the doctrine that plenary adoration is due to Christ; and, in support of this view, he refers to Huet. Origenian. lib. ii. c. 2, quest. 2, s. xxix. Now on turning to Huet, we cannot find that confirmation of Mr. Faber's notions which we were led to expect. It appears evident, from the following words of that writer, that, in his judgment, the worship due to Christ is represented by Origen as something decidedly inferior to that which is due to the Father:—“Orationem *proprie dictam*, Deo Patri fundi jubet (Origenes); *improprium* et καταχρησικὴν, Filio: illi, ut Summo Deo, bonorum datori; huic, tanquam Μεσίτῃ, qui preces nostras Deo offerat: quia non est *auctor*—inquit, ex Origenis personâ; Augustinus—indulgentiarum petitionum, sed *supplicator*.”—(p. 48, ed. 1678.) And this statement seems to be supported by the following

* Vol. ii. pp. 172, 176.

words of Origen himself:—Μόνῳ προσευκτέον τῷ ἐπὶ πᾶσι Θεῷ· καὶ προσευκτέον γε τῷ μονογενεῖ καὶ πρωτοτόκῳ πάσης κτίσεως, Λόγῳ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀξιωτέον αὐτὸν, ὡς Ἀρχιερέα, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν φθάσασαν ἡμῶν ἐυχὴν, ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ τὸν Θεὸν αὐτοῦ, καὶ Θεὸν ἡμῶν.

Other passages undoubtedly there are, in which Origen allows that prayers should be offered to the Son, not merely as the Mediator, but, actually, as the author and giver of blessings. But then, in spite of all this, the commentary of Huet is as follows:—“*Multo magis rogari jubet Patrem quam Filium, et intentioni ac humiliori oratione. Atque id sibi volunt Patres, cum clamitant dixisse illum non esse orandum cum Patre Filium; i.e. non esse orandum, itidem ut Patrem, Filium.*” And, after affirming that this will solve innumerable passages, he adds—“*Orari quidem Patrem, jubet, et Filium, sed diverso genere Orationis.*” Of course the question here is, not whether these opinions are correct, or erroneous, but whether or not they were entertained by Origen. But even if it could be shown that, in his opinion, worship is due to the Son, principally, as executing the office of our High Priest and Intercessor, he would still prove but a miserable comforter to the modern Unitarians. Indeed, we know not that Origen, even according to Huet's interpretation of him, could render much support to the notion, that the divinity of the Son is something subordinate to the divinity of the Father: for, the Saviour may be co-essentially divine with the Father, and yet it may be a part of the sacred *διονομία*, that, until his *mediatorial* dominion is ended, he shall be chiefly addressed in his *mediatorial* character. But, at all events, what can the notions of Origen do for those who contend for the *simple humanity* of the Son? By believers of this stamp, all worship offered to Christ is regarded with the same feelings, to say the very least, with which Protestants regard the worship offered to Angels or to Saints. Whatever services, therefore, Origen may be supposed to render to the Arians, he can never be converted into an ally by Dr. Priestley.

In No. IV. of the same Appendix, Mr. Faber appears to us to speak somewhat too contemptuously of the application of certain Rabbinical figments to the purpose of illustrating John vii. 27—“*Howbeit we know this man whence he is; but, when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is.*” We here allude to the tradition, that, after the Messiah was born, he would be conveyed away, and miraculously concealed, till Elias came to reveal and to anoint him. Of *the tradition itself*, it is, perhaps, impossible to speak too lightly. The story is as worthless as the legend of the seven sleepers, or the eleven thousand virgins. But still, if some fable of this sort was actually prevalent among

the Jews, it, at least, may be regarded as forming one head of evidence, to show that, in the latter days, they had lost, if they ever possessed, all correct notions respecting the nature and person of the Messiah. And it should be recollected that no less a commentator than Lightfoot has gravely produced this tradition in illustration of St. John. His words are—"non dubitarunt eum in Bethlehemo primò manifestandum; sed occultandum et post aliquod spatium appariturum iterum, sed ignotum unde."—"Fatentur Christum ante sua tempora fuisse natum in Bethlehemo, sed illico abreptum nescio quì, et absconditum et non inveniendum."—Hieros. Beracoth. fol. 5, 1. Midras Echah. fol. 68, 3.—"Concipiunt duplicem manifestationem Messiae; primam in Bethlehemo; et eum illinc occultandum et latiturum; sed tandem se iterum manifestaturum, non noto, unde et quomodo advenerit. In comparitione sua primâ, a Bethlehemo, nihil memorabile ab eo agendum: in secundâ, gentis expectatio. Jam ergo, hi Judæi, quorum hoc verba tractamus, noverint ejus nativitatem, necne, ex actis ejus miraculosis concipiunt, hanc esse secundam ejus manifestationem: atque *ideo* dubitant an ille sit verus Messias, quia norunt locum (Nazaretham) unde processit, edocti a traditionibus suis Messiam secundò proventurum è loco penitus omnibus ignoto."—Hor. Hebr. vol. iii. p. 120. Ed. 1671.

It may, however, be remarked that, if the Jews believed this strange fiction, they must also have believed that the Messiah, if not God or Angel, was an Immortal Man, or, at least a man of most miraculous longevity. According to one version of the legend, coined after the destruction of the Temple, the Messiah was born on the very day of that calamitous event; and, five years after, was suddenly caught away to the great sea, there to remain 400 years. After that, he was to pass 80 years with the sons of Korah in the Ascent of Smoke; and then, 80 years more in the Gates of Rome. At the expiration of this period of 560 years, he was to appear suddenly, and to rule *to the time of the end*.* This, it is true, would not prove that the Jews expected a Divinity in their Messiah. But it would show that they expected a Being invested with more superhuman qualities than any Humanitarian has ever dreamed of assigning to the Son of Joseph and Mary.

That Trypho may have believed in some such *humanity* of Christ as the Jewish legend ascribes to him, and that he may have expected his appearance from some unknown region of earth, ocean, or sky, appears highly probable from his words, as

* See Fab. vol. ii. p. 344, who refers to Raym. Martin, pug. fid. par. ii. c. 7.

cited by Mr. Faber—Χριστὸς δὲ, εἰ καὶ γηγένηται, καὶ ἔστι πον, ἀγνωστὸς ἐστὶ, καὶ οὐδε αὐτὸς πω ἑαυτὸν ἐπίσταται· οὐδὲ ἔχει δυνάμιν τινα, μέχρις ἂν ἔλθῶν Ἡλίας, χρίσῃ αὐτὸν, καὶ φάνερρον πᾶσι ποιήσῃ. (Just. Dial. Tryph.) It should further be remembered, that nothing but the pressure of their own prophecies, when forcibly urged against them, could extort from the Jews of that day any thing like an admission that the Messiah was to be a divine person.* And, lastly, it seems irresistibly clear, from the very tenor of Justin's argument, that Trypho and his brethren were not treated by Justin as believers in the Divinity of Christ.† His reasoning appears to us to be manifestly to this effect:—"There are some among our own people who confess that Jesus was the Christ, but affirm that he was a man born of human parents. With such persons I cannot agree; nor could I, even if it were affirmed by great numbers of those who now actually think as I do. But, at any rate, if you contend for the mere humanity of the Christ, you can be in no condition to resist my arguments, even if they should fail to prove the Divinity of Jesus, provided they are sufficient to establish his Messiahship, *on every other ground*. If divinity is, in truth, no attribute of the Messiah, it can be no objection to my reasonings, that they leave you still unshaken in your belief of his mere humanity. In that case, nothing more can be required of me than to show, that Jesus was distinguished by all the other marks which indicate the office and person of the Messiah."‡

And now, finally, is it possible to look back upon all this wilderness of disputation, without having forced upon our remembrance the saying, that verily the Sun doth look upon nothing that is new. In the eighteenth century the creed of Dr. Priestley runneth much after the same form as the Symbol of Islam—*God is one God, and Jesus is his Prophet*: and he telleth us, that this was no other than the creed of all the aboriginal churches. Now, much the same thing was asserted by the Artemonites (at the end of the second century, or the beginning of the third,) with respect to the doctrine of Theodotus the tanner of Byzantium. Theodotus, be it remembered, was one of those who took fright at the Οικονομία. But he fled from it in a direction exactly opposite to that which was taken by Praxeas, and the champions of the divine Μοναρχία. His city of refuge was, not the divine identity of the Father and the Son, but the sole divinity of the Father, and the mere humanity of the Son. And the followers of Artemon had the hardihood to affirm, that no other doctrine but this was known till the days of Zephyrinus,

* The reader should, by all means, consult Bishop Kaye's Account of Justin, p. 25—30.

† Ibid. 28—30.

Bishop of Rome, A.D. 198; and this they did, with the fact staring them in the face, that Theodotus had been excommunicated for this very doctrine by Victor, who was the predecessor of Zephyrinus. After this, is it possible to imagine that any adventure should be too hard for the descendants of the same school?

Dr. Lindsey,—for example,—is among those who are for deciding every thing by a direct appeal to Scripture; and this, to the utter rejection of all human commentaries and expositions. Not that he shrinks from an appeal to Christian antiquity. He is not afraid—not he—of “*putting the matter as it were to the vote;*” confident that it will be found *undeniably* true that “*all Christian people, for upwards of 300 years after Christ, till the Council of Nice, were generally Unitarians:*”^{*} and under this comprehensive description, he, very gravely, numbers “*what are now called Arians, or Socinians.*” He allows, too, in another place, that Irenæus and Justin Martyr,—Clement of Alexandria and Origen,—had, long before the Council of Nice, contributed to bring into Christianity the Platonic doctrine of a second God, and various other mixtures of Gentile philosophy.† So that, according to his own statement, the primitive *Unitarian* faith was, in comparatively early days, disfigured by the interpolation of a secondary *Deity*. But why should trifling inconsistencies disturb an advocate of the pure, aboriginal, humanitarian faith? The Arians—it is true—were willing to speak of Christ as God of God;‡ they did not object to say that he was begotten of the Father—(not indeed of his *substance* but of his *will*)—before all worlds, or ages; and though they affirmed that he was *produced, in time*, they shuddered at the thought of ranking him as a *mere* creature.§ They, therefore, would, most infallibly, have ejected Dr. Lindsey and all his tribe from their assemblies, with contempt and aversion. But what then? The word *Unitarian* is

* Lindsey’s Apology, pp. 23, 24, ed. 1774.

† Ib. pp. 158, 159.

‡ Burt. Ante-Nic. Fathers, p. 403.

§ Burt. Ante-Nic. Fathers, p. 451. The creeds of Arianism, it is well known, were manifold. One of these may be seen in Socr. lib. ii. c. 41: another in c. 10 of the same book; respecting which, Sozom. lib. ii. c. 5, mentions, that it was ascribed to Lucianus, a Presbyter of Antioch, who suffered martyrdom A.D. 311; though, with much truth it was so ascribed, the historian declares himself unable to pronounce. This Creed was put forth at the Council held at Antioch A.D. 341, which was composed chiefly of persons inclined to Arianism. But their Arianism must have been of a very lofty character, indeed, if this form was really adopted by them from Lucianus, or forged by them in his name. See Burt. Ante Nicene Fathers, pp. 402, 403. Another Arianizing Ecthesis was presented by Eunomius to the Emperor Theodosius, and is printed by Valesius, in his notes to Socr. lib. v. c. 10. The Creed presented to Constantine, by Arius himself, together with Euzoïus, is in Socr. lib. i. c. 26. It would be curious enough to watch the countenance of Mr. Belsham, or Mr. Lant Carpenter, or any other modern Socinian, if any one of these *Unitarian* creeds should be recited in their meeting!

a word of excellently convenient compass: and under its protection, why should not Socinians combine with the believers in one Supreme God, (and two subordinate ones,) so long as the battle is against the great Tritheistic heresy? When that conflict is over, it will be time enough for the high contracting parties to settle their mutual differences. So that, here, we have a masterpiece of theological diplomacy, which unites the innocence of the dove, and the wisdom of the serpent, and the courage of the eagle; and is therefore well worthy of the best ages of the Christian church!

Such is the enterprise and hardihood of Dr. Lindsey. But what is this compared with the intrepidity of Dr. Channing, the great oracle of Transatlantic Unitarianism? This gentleman, it seems, has published a discourse, on the superior tendency of his own persuasion to form an elevated religious character. In the execution of his work, he produces a vile and distorted caricature of the Trinitarian doctrine, which we have not, ourselves, had an opportunity of seeing, but which Mr. Faber—(who, with all his depth of piety and soundness of belief, seems entirely free from any approach to dragon-like religious prudery)—professes himself unable to look upon without *shuddering*.^{*} Having completed this portrait, Dr. Channing does not hesitate to say of the original, that, “instead of teaching an intelligible God, it offers to the mind a *monstrous* compound of hostile attributes, bearing plain marks of those *ages of darkness*, when Christianity shed but a faint ray, and when the diseased fancy teemed with prodigies and unnatural creations.” Now, if it had been the pleasure of Dr. Channing to affirm, that this hideous monster had burst forth, full-grown and ready armed, from the head of Constantine, with the obstetrical assistance of the three hundred old women assembled at Nice,—we should, at least, have known how to deal with the proposition. For he then would have said little more than has, in effect, been asserted, or insinuated, by divers of the Unitarian *Illuminati* before him. But that,—with this monster before eyes, roaming over Christendom for full fifteen hundred years, and making havoc of the pure Unitarian faith,—he should venture to pronounce that it had its origin in the Cimmerian depths of the middle ages,—all this does really imply such a magnanimous contempt for historical facts, that we are almost compelled to recall our former exclamation, and to confess that, at last, the Sun hath looked upon something new! At all events, we are impelled to ask, what is it that the preacher means when he speaks of the *dark ages*? How far, backward, according to his powers

^{*} Fab. vol. i. pp. 289. 293.

of vision, does the reign of *darkness* extend? Is its commencement anterior to that ill-omened hour, when the three hundred evil ones of Nice performed their fatal incantations? Of one thing Dr. Channing may be fully assured,—that the readers and the hearers of this *popular* discourse* will, for the most part, carry away the impression, that the doctrine of the Trinity is a prodigy engendered during the owl-light of those ages, when the intellect of Europe was under the joint spell of legendary fiction and scholastic subtlety. It is not to be expected that ordinary readers, whose pursuits are remote from ecclesiastical inquiry, should be in full possession of the history of religious opinions. When they hear of the *dark ages*, they will naturally think of some period between the sixth and the fourteenth centuries; and, on the authority of their eloquent, learned, and venerated teacher, they will rest in the persuasion, that the doctrine in question was never heard of, till the moral and intellectual degradation of Europe was completed. And if so, we may surely ask, with Mr. Faber, whether the acquisition, or the preservation, of proselytes, by the help of such an assertion, is likely to afford the preacher much comfort on his death bed?

With regard to the dreadful doctrine itself—which drove Mr. Lindsey from the church—which impelled Dr. Priestley to protest that, if it could be found in Scripture, he would cast Scripture away—which has led Dr. Channing to seek for its nativity in the ages of Stygian darkness,—with regard to the abstract merits of this doctrine, we have only one or two questions to suggest. Does it very materially augment the difficulties which throng around us, at every step of our attempt to comprehend that inscrutable mystery, the essence of God, and the manner of his agency and subsistence? This is a question which, of course, every man must answer for himself. For our parts, we can honestly declare, that a triad of persons, with an entire unity both of nature and of will, exhibits an aspect under which we are just as well able metaphysically to contemplate the Supreme Being, as any other—neither more nor less. If we are asked to explain all the difficulties and perplexities which attend it, we must, undoubtedly, lay our finger on our lips. But, if Deism itself were our Creed, we should still find ourselves open to a multitude of inquiries, which would impose upon us precisely the same necessity. The subject, as it must present itself to any class of believers, is a fathomless abyss, in which metaphysical science is utterly lost. And then, with respect to the mystery of the Incarnation, does

* It was preached before a congregation at New York, and has since been cheaply printed for popular circulation in England. The fourth Liverpool edition is dated 1829.

there live the man who would venture broadly to assert, *à priori*, that it would be impossible for a being, invested with divine attributes, to manifest himself in the form of a man, exactly after the manner described in the Scriptures, as the Scriptures are understood by the Church of England? If such hardihood and presumption is to be found on earth, we can only say of the persons who may be armed with it—“*my soul come not thou into their secret; to their assembly, mine honour, be not thou united!*” If it is *not* to be found—how pitiable is it, that facts, and testimonies, and canons of criticism, and the plainest principles of reasoning, should all be trampled down by the enemies of the doctrine in question, in the haste and fury of their assault upon it!

Before we dismiss Mr. Faber's work, it may be proper to observe, that there is one fact recorded in Ecclesiastical History, which, at first sight, looks like an exception to the universality of Tertullian's celebrated Canon, that “whatever is first is true, whatever is later is adulterate.” The fact to which we allude is this—that the Mosaic Law was observed by the Hebrew Church of Jerusalem from the period of its foundation, to that of its dispersion in the time of Adrian; that is, by the oldest of all churches—the Church which was planted by the Apostles themselves—the Church which had the Apostle James, the brother of the Lord, for its diocesan bishop—and which once contained within its limits the Catholic Church of Christ. It would seem, therefore, that the same argument which is employed to overthrow the assertion, that the Apostolic faith affirmed the simple humanity of Jesus Christ, must likewise be sufficient to establish the perpetual obligation of the Jewish Law. If that which is first, must be true—it may be said—the abandonment of the Jewish ordinances was scarcely more defensible than the departure from the Trinitarian doctrine. If priority alone can sanction what we now call the Nicene Faith, it must also give authority to the Judaizing practice.

This objection, however, will dwindle into comparative insignificance, when we recollect that the ceremonial law was by no means generally regarded by the Solymean Church as a matter of necessity. The continued adherence to it was, with the majority of the Hebrew Christians, purely the effect of traditional prejudice and custom. Their perseverance in it exposed them to the calamity of being confounded by Adrian with the rest of their countrymen, and of being expelled by him from the city of Jerusalem. And that it had been observed more from habit than from any scruple of conscience, is tolerably clear from the fact, that “they made no scruple to renounce it, in order that they might be qualified to partake in the valuable privileges of the

Ælian colony, from which Jews were excluded. Having thus divested themselves of the forms of Judaism, which to that time they had borne, they removed from Pella and other towns to which they had retired, and settled in great numbers at Ælia. The few, who retained a superstitious veneration for their law, remained in the North of Galilee, where they were joined perhaps by new fugitives, of the same weak character, from Palestine. And this was the beginning of the Sect of the Nazarenes.* It appears, therefore, that although the practice was, from the first, undoubtedly erroneous, it was not regarded by the Hebrew Christians as entering *essentially* into their scheme of faith. It was not cherished by them as a principle, the observance of which was necessary to salvation. It extended, indeed, to a decided majority of the Church; but the neglect of it was not held to disqualify the minority for Christian communion. It was a consequence of that *vis inertiae* which often keeps men sluggishly faithful to immemorial usage, and which it may often require considerable violence to overcome. The period, however, arrived, when they were awakened to better notions of their Christian liberty; while the bigotted and superstitious remnant of the Nazarenes persisted, with heretical obstinacy,† in their attachment to the ancient usages, after they had been abandoned by their brethren, and rejected by the whole Catholic Church throughout the world. There is, consequently, a manifest and substantial distinction between this case and other cases which involve a change in some vital and fundamental doctrine of Christianity.

Certain other notions might here be mentioned, which are now generally regarded as visionary and unscriptural, but which yet were entertained in very early times; and which may seem to rank among the interpretations of Scripture *first* entertained, and, consequently, to fall within the protection of Tertullian's Canon. These, however, were opinions which floated about, without any important influence upon the great body of the Catholic faith; and which, after a time, were lost or disregarded. The safe and proper application of Tertullian's rule is—not to cases of this description—but, rather, to the purpose of ascertaining the essential and indispensable doctrines of the Gospel. When this is the object, we may always confidently appeal to the earliest expressions of opinion; more especially when those expressions are to be found in documents or writings which profess to declare the sentiments of the Church collectively. Evidence like this, is

* Horsley, Lett. vii. to Dr. Priestley; and Remarks on Dr. Priestley's Second Letters, p. ii. c. 2.

† Horsley, Disquis. vi. p. 556.

the very best evidence that can possibly be obtained; and at all events, it is entitled to reception with any reasonable mind, until some better evidence shall be produced in opposition to it. No one, for instance, without the greatest violence to his conviction, can bring himself to believe that writers, who solemnly undertake to report the opinions of a vast body of men, with regard to matters of the gravest importance, would presume to represent their own individual reveries as the received doctrines of the fraternity to which they belong. Were they to attempt this, exposure and confusion must, sooner or later, be their portion: and with the knowledge of this inevitable consequence before their eyes, they must be idiots or madmen, if they could venture upon so dangerous an experiment on the carelessness or the credulity of mankind. Neither is a series of apparently incidental and unstudied allusions to the universal belief, to be treated by any sound understanding as the result of artifice or forgery. And whenever we have a regular uninterrupted sequence of this sort of testimony, stretching up to the very origin of any institution, we are in possession of a mass of proof which absolutely commands our confidence, until some adverse testimony shall be produced sufficiently forcible to overthrow it. The burden of producing such adverse testimony, however, must in that case rest upon an antagonist. We hold one extremity of a chain, the other extremity of which, as we contend, is fixed to the throne of the primitive verity. If the gainsayer doubts this, let him, if he has strength for it, smite asunder the first links; and thus sever our faith from that of our ecclesiastical progenitors.

To opinions or doctrines, which do *not* enter deeply into the essence of our religion—the maxims of Tertullian may not, perhaps, be so uniformly and rigorously applicable. Erroneous and overstrained interpretations relative to matters *comparatively* unimportant, may possibly have crept into the Church, even in the earliest days; and, from their very insignificance, may have escaped public detection and condemnation. They were a sort of small heresies, adhering, as it were, to the surface of the faith, without vitiating its substance: and, having no connection with its vitals, they would drop away, in process of time, and leave it free from their incumbrance and disfigurement. But cases like these are by no means of magnitude or weight sufficient materially to impair our reliance on the Canon of Tertullian, in its application to matters absolutely essential to the integrity of the Christian system. With regard to such matters, at least, the tests—“*quod semper—quod ubique—quod ab omnibus*”—may be applied with all the confidence that can attend any process of merely *moral* demonstration.

After all, however, it will probably be allowed, on all hands, that the silence of the Fathers is often quite as valuable as their positive testimony; and sometimes much more valuable. If a scheme of interpretation shall be found to have started up suddenly into notice, at some moment subsequently to the first promulgation of Christianity—or, if it should be found to have, gradually, and almost imperceptibly, won its way into general acceptance;—what is the legitimate mode of ascertaining its claim upon our belief, but to examine the primitive authorities, and to see whether any traces of it can be found there? And if the early Fathers are silent, if their works furnish us with not the slightest vestige of its existence; what can be the inference, but that the phenomenon in question is the mere produce of human subtlety or perverseness, and not a genuine tradition derived from the Apostles? Among the latter class of these supposed cases, is the interpretation which has invested the Bishop of Rome with his tremendous prerogatives. The precise moment of its first appearance, it may be scarcely possible to ascertain. It came up, a man knoweth not how; and it grew like the grain of mustard, till it overshadowed the earth. But that it was a *strange and degenerate plant*, instead of being *wholly a right seed*, may be very safely concluded from the fact, that it was utterly unknown to the original labourers and husbandmen. An instance of the former description is given by Mr. Faber in his Dedication. The scheme of Scriptural interpretation, now familiarly known by the name of Calvinism, may be traced back in the Western Church to the time of Augustine. But its appearance at that time was *sudden*. If we attempt to trace it back further, we are, as Mr. Faber observes, completely *at fault*. “Augustine, in the beginning of the fifth century, is the first ecclesiastical writer who annexes to the Scriptural terms, *Elect* and *Predestinate*, the peculiar sense which is, now, styled Calvinistic.” And when, at the close of his controversy with the Pelagians, he propounded his own system, he was charged with advancing a doctrine which, to that day, had been unknown and unheard of in the Church. And how, says Mr. Faber, did he dispose of the charge? Did he attempt to overwhelm his censors by a mass of citations from the Fathers, beginning from the day when he received the instruction of his catechist, and ascending to the days of the Apostles themselves? On the contrary—he produces just three witnesses—Cyprian, Ambrose, and Gregory of Nazianzum: all of whom depose nothing to the purpose; and whose depositions, if they *were* to the purpose, could be of very little value to his cause; for Ambrose and Gregory

were his own contemporaries, and Cyprian was not quite so much as a century and a half earlier. The doctrine therefore must have been a discovery of his own—as he once, incautiously, confesses it to have been. Whatever therefore may be the merits, or the demerits, of his system, in the abstract, it is an historical fact, that this system was stared at as a novelty, at the commencement of the fifth century. They who went before him had never dreamed of such an interpretation. If, therefore, his doctrine was, in truth, the doctrine of the Apostles, it must have buried itself in the earth immediately after their time; and there it must have remained, till it was dug up again 400 years afterwards. We have here a negative argument of almost irresistible strength. Whether the terms Elect and Predestinate had been rightly interpreted by the Fathers during the whole of that period, is a distinct question: but that they were *not* rightly interpreted by Augustine is next to indisputable. For it is almost impossible to believe that the mind of the Apostles, respecting such a matter, should have been so soon lost, and so late recovered.*

We now take our leave of Mr. Faber with feelings of deep respect for his exertions in winding up and completing the evidence necessary for the establishment of the historical fact, that the Trinitarian doctrine of the Church of England is no other than the primitive and Apostolic doctrine. His labours, as we have already intimated, are, in our judgment, successful against the world; but, in particular, sufficient to shake the modern Unitarian system to atoms. Even his adversaries must allow that he has brought with him to his task, unwearied industry, great learning, and a most commendable spirit of fairness; which last quality he has very clearly manifested by the openness and distinctness with which he has produced his authorities: for there is not a single quotation of any importance in his volumes, the original of which is not fully printed in his margin. Of the execution, we feel ourselves unable to speak in the language of unqualified praise. He is, generally, much too wordy and diffuse. There is a grievous want of compactness about his style. A great deal of what may be called its *succulence* might, with great advantage, be squeezed out of it. The fibres and solids would gain infinitely by this salutary process. Another defect of his writing is its occasional indirectness and circuitry. There is

* According to the Calvinists, Augustine himself cannot have been completely *in the secret*. For Beza, in his *Life of Calvin*, (ad an. 1551) informs us, that these difficult questions had never been sufficiently handled by the ancients; and that it was the Genevan controversy which, eventually, brought them out into such perspicuous development, that none but the incurably contentious could remain in doubt!

often so much sparring before the decisive blow is put in, that the spectator becomes weary and impatient, and, consequently, less disposed to sympathize with its victorious effect. These, however, are faults which leave the substantial merit and value of his performance unimpaired; and we hope and trust that a new edition will speedily give him an opportunity of correcting them, should he think our humble suggestions at all worth attending to. We confess, likewise, that when that period shall arrive, we should gladly see his disquisition announced with a title somewhat less portentous than the *Apostolicity of Trinitarianism!*

ART. II.—*On Political Economy, in Connexion with the Moral State and Moral Prospects of Society.* By Thomas Chalmers, D. D. Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Glasgow. 1832. 8vo.

POLITICAL ECONOMY, even in its best form, is not a subject which has much attraction for the generality of readers. And this, we think, is to be accounted for chiefly on the two following grounds: First, though it either has, or at least ought always to have, an immediate view to practical results, yet dealing, as all sciences deal, more or less, in general propositions, it is not always applicable to the particular cases of which men are frequently the most anxious to obtain the solution; and secondly, though it treats of that which is so much desiderated and sought after by all viz. *wealth*, it instructs no one how he may individually grow rich, or, at best, gives him but little information in that respect, which he may not more readily acquire from other more convenient and perhaps surer sources.

Although therefore it is an eminently practical science in reference to the affairs of a great nation, and ought to be carefully studied by all statesmen and legislators, it is purely theoretical as it respects individuals, and can be but of little service to them in the conduct of their every-day concerns.

Hence it is, that our merchants and traders have never been very great patrons of the science which teaches them the *rationale* of their own transactions; nor indeed have they ever made pretension to much acquaintance with it, except when they have combined together for the purpose of procuring restrictive regulations on other branches, or some exclusive protection in favour of their own, on which occasions they have seldom failed to back their demands by arguments drawn from their own somewhat narrow views of the subject.

But if this science is not of a nature to commend itself much to the public attention, it seems to be still less adapted to the purposes of general reading, when it is treated in a dry, abstract and almost mathematical manner. If therefore it has failed of exciting much general interest, as it appears exhibited in the writings of Adam Smith, which abound in illustrations and practical application, (and that this is the case, is, we think, abundantly proved by the general ignorance which prevails respecting his doctrines and opinions,) it is no marvel that it should be still less suited to the public taste, in the dress in which it is clothed in the pages of Messrs. Mill and Ricardo, where it is cut and carved out into arithmetical problems and algebraic formulas. In the hands of this school political economy has certainly assumed somewhat of a harsh and repulsive aspect. Although their writings exhibit great originality and acuteness, and have excited in some quarters much attention and curiosity, they are but ill calculated to render the science popular among those who have no previous taste for the study of it. It would be uncandid not to allow that they have thrown light upon some points which were before but imperfectly understood, and that they have so far contributed to improve and extend our knowledge of the subject. But, on the other hand, some of their doctrines are founded on such false and imperfect data,—they have frequently used their terms in such new and unusual senses, and their conclusions have sometimes been so repugnant to common notions, and so directly at variance with experience, that, on the whole, they have impressed upon the subject a character not very favourable to its general reception, and it is to be feared have even in some degree contributed to bring it into contempt. The reader who consults their works, though he is often surprised and sometimes even charmed with the novelty and ingenuity of their views, and the plausibility of their reasoning, not unfrequently finds himself bewildered in a labyrinth of difficulties, and at length grows weary of paradoxes which have nothing in common with the real business of life.

But whether it be owing to the particular mode in which the subject has been treated by these writers, or partly perhaps to this cause and to others combined with it, certain it is, that political economy is in no very great repute even among men who are considerably enlightened upon other subjects. It is therefore with no ordinary feelings of delight, that we hail the appearance of this volume of Dr. Chalmers. It is, we think, admirably calculated not only to rescue this useful science from the obloquy which has been poured out upon it, and to dissipate the prejudices which of late years more especially have gathered round its very

name, but even to place it on an eminence still more lofty and honourable than any to which it has hitherto attained. By considering political economy with reference to its influence upon the moral state and moral prospects of society, Dr. Chalmers has given a tone of the highest elevation and dignity to the whole subject, and thrown into it a degree of interest which it never before possessed. Disencumbering it from all topics of inferior and secondary importance, he has addressed himself at once to those more practical and vital questions which connect the science with the well-being of the community at large, and which, while they affect the condition of each particular class, do at the same time bear upon the general happiness and prosperity of the whole.

In the prosecution of his inquiries he has contrived, with admirable dexterity, to avoid all discussions respecting the meaning of terms, and has so introduced those technical words and expressions, which have been the subject of fierce contention among other economists, that it is impossible either to mistake the meaning which he attaches to them, or to quarrel with the use which he makes of them.

Whatever point Dr. Chalmers takes up, he seldom relinquishes it till he has thoroughly exhausted it. His powers of illustration are quite unbounded. No writer ever dressed up his subject in so many different *costumes*, or took such pains to exhibit it to his reader in every variety of form and shape; and though this is apt to lead him into some diffuseness and prolixity, which is the prevailing character, and perhaps the main defect of his writings, yet the truth, when held up in various points of view, frequently gains the readier admission, and the light will sometimes break in upon the mind through one avenue which finds no access to it through others. Moreover, his style, though not always clothed in a perfectly English dress, is never wearisome, but is so powerful and energetic, and at the same time so full of noble and lofty sentiments, and of splendid and beautiful passages, that it is has in it a peculiar charm which carries the reader imperceptibly along.

In giving, however, this general idea and character of the work before us, it is by no means our intention to represent it as a perfectly faultless performance, or as being entirely exempt from error. Its main principles indeed we conceive to be sound and incontrovertible. Nevertheless, in some instances, they appear to us to have been pushed too far; nor do we think the author always warranted in the conclusions which he draws from them. There is, notwithstanding, so much that is both new and important in the general view which he gives of the subject,—all its parts are so well framed and fitted together—each particular

topic is so clearly and distinctly stated, and so beautifully expanded and illustrated, that we cannot but consider ourselves as greatly indebted to Dr. Chalmers for his labours in this department, and we have no doubt that his work will be eminently serviceable, not only in rendering the subject more generally interesting, and widening the circle of its readers, but also in establishing some valuable truths and correcting many common and prevailing errors.

The point from which Dr. Chalmers sets out, and which forms the basis of his whole argument, is the fact, of comparatively modern discovery, that the last or worst description of soil under cultivation, at any given time, yields little or no rent to its proprietor, being barely more than sufficient to remunerate the labour employed upon it, including the profit of the farmer or cultivator's capital, according to its ordinary or average rate at the time being. Such land may notwithstanding be of very good quality, and yield both high wages and high profits, as is frequently the case in new colonies, or if not naturally fertile, it may become so, by the application of Capital, and either from this cause or its concomitant one, the fall of profits and wages, which usually accompanies the progress of wealth and improvement, it may ultimately yield a very high rent. So long, however, as it pays none, it must always mark the extreme limit of cultivation at the time being. This circumstance which seems to have escaped the penetrating eye of Adam Smith, was first noticed by Mr. Malthus and Sir Edward West; and was, by them beautifully applied in explanation of the nature and origin of rent. It has, we believe, been since acknowledged by all subsequent writers, but it has never been so satisfactorily elucidated, nor so thoroughly traced to its consequences as in the work before us.

It is thus stated by Dr. Chalmers:—

“Any land, that is cultivated for food to human beings, must, at least, yield as much as shall feed the labourers who are employed in working it. But it must do more than this. These agricultural labourers require to be clothed and lodged, as well as fed. They must be upheld, not in food alone, which is the first necessary; but in what may be termed, the second necessities of life. The people whose business it is to work up these, may, in contradistinction to the *agricultural*, be termed the *secondary* labourers of a country. It is evident, that the worst of cultivated land must, at least, be able to feed those who are directly employed upon the soil, and, moreover, those who prepare for the agricultural labourers all the other articles, beside food, which enter into their support or maintenance.

“It is obvious, that land of this inferior productiveness must mark the extreme limit of cultivation at the time—as land of still inferior quality could not be broken up without loss to the cultivator.”—p. 2.

But our author has been careful to avoid the error into which Mr. Ricardo and his disciples have fallen. These economists have imagined that the most fertile soils were invariably the first occupied, and that whenever land of an inferior quality was taken into cultivation, the condition of the labourer and his employer became *necessarily* deteriorated. It is to the *necessity* of resorting to the less fertile portions of land that they exclusively ascribe the gradual decline both of wages and profits in the progress of society, whereas, in point of fact, this fall, arising, as it does, from the increase both of population and capital, precedes the cultivation of the poorer land, and is itself the very cause of that of which they esteem it to be no more than the consequence. According to them therefore the labourer is always the best off in the earliest periods, when none but the richest land is cultivated, which is certainly very far from being generally true to the extent which they supposed.—

“ In filling up this sketch, or *histoire raisonnée*, of the conjunct progress of culture and population, economists have given in to certain conceptions, which require to be modified. They sometimes describe the process, as if, at each successive descent to an inferior soil, the comfort and circumstances of the human race underwent deterioration; or as if, under the impulse of a hard and hunger-bitten necessity, men were driven, like so many famishing wolves, to those intractable soils, whence they could only force out a more stinted and penurious fare than before—and that, at a greater expense of toil and of endurance. Agreeably to this supposition even economists and calculators have, by a reverse process, found their way to a golden age at the outset of the world—when men reposed in the lap of abundance; and, with no other fatigue than that of a slight and superficial operation on a soil of first rate quality, richly partook in the bounties of nature. But when all this soil came to be occupied, and the race continued to multiply, land of a second quality must have been taken in—and the conception is, that at every such transition from a better to a worse land, a heavier imposition of toil was laid upon workmen, and a smaller amount of produce was yielded to them in return for their industry. This, certainly, represents to us the species in a course of deterioration, at least, in as far as the comfort of the labouring classes is concerned. They are pictured to the eye, as if goaded on by hard and stubborn necessity at every step of this movement, and going forth, in starving multitudes, from that better land, which is now too narrow for them. At each new stretch of cultivation, a more ungrateful soil has to be encountered, on which it is thought that men are more strenuously wrought, and more scantily subsisted, than before—till, at the extreme limit of this progression, a life of utmost toil, and utmost penury, is looked to as the inevitable doom that awaits the working classes of society.”
—pp. 3—5.

Now this representation of the case is not, as our author justly

remarks, agreeable to the fact, nor does it accord with historical truth. The descent to inferior soils has been frequently met, and more than compensated for, by the invention of instruments, and the application of capital, whereby industry has been rendered more effective, and the produce increased, or its cost diminished. This too has been brought about as well by manufacturing as by agricultural improvements; for if the *second* necessities of life, as Dr. Chalmers appropriately terms them, (that is, such things as are needful to the labourer besides his mere subsistence,) can be produced cheaper, or with less labour, that portion of his corn or money wages, which goes to purchase them may be reduced, while not only he may be as well off as before, but the general result will be the same, as though a saving had been effected in the cost of producing food. Land of inferior quality, which would not before have repaid the expense of tillage, may in such cases be profitably entered upon.—

“It follows not, that in the act of descending to an inferior soil men have to put forth a greater quantity of labour for the same return,—because it may have been some improvement in the modes or operations of husbandry, which has enabled them to make the descent, and to make the same labour as effective on the ground which they are now reclaiming from the waste, as on that which they had last brought within the domain of cultivation. When, therefore, we see the wilds of nature further broken in upon, we are not always to imagine that it is from the pressure of a felt necessity, by which men have been forced to submit to a more painful endurance, and to put up with a scantier subsistence in return for it. It may have been the pacific, the prosperous result of some enlargement in the powers of agricultural labour; and in consequence of which, men go spontaneously forth on an inferior soil, because now, for the same work, they earn the same recompense as they did on the soil immediately above it. It is thus a possible thing, that cultivation may be extended, without deterioration to the comfort of labourers; and that along its last possible frontier, there might be stationed as high and well conditioned a peasantry, as ever flourished in any olden or golden period on the lawns of Arcadia.

“And cultivation may be extended by an improvement in manufacturing, as well as in agricultural labour. It may be conceived, of the land last entered, that in return for a certain quantity of labour, it yields the subsistence of a hundred families—and that the land next inferior to it cannot be profitably cultivated, because in return for the same labour, it yields the subsistence of only ninety families. Now, over-looking for the present, the element of profit, one might conceive these hundred families to be made up of seventy belonging to the agricultural, and of thirty belonging to the secondary class,—it being the employment of the latter to prepare, for the whole hundred, the second necessities of life. It matters not whether there be

such an improvement in agricultural labour, that sixty can do the work of seventy, or such an improvement in manufacturing labour that twenty can do the work of thirty. In either way, ninety labourers can do as much as a hundred did before; and whereas, formerly, land must have been able to return for their labour the subsistence of a hundred families, ere it could be taken in, it may now be taken in, though of such inferior quality, as to return the subsistence of but ninety families. By the former improvement, the agricultural labourers necessary for a given effect, became fewer than before,—by the latter improvement, though still as numerous, they would require the services of fewer secondaries than before. It is thus that a step of improvement in manufactures alone can give rise to an onward step of extension in agriculture—and just because a method has been devised for the fabrication of as many yards of cloth, by fewer hands, soils of poorer out-field, than any that had yet been reached, may now be profitably entered upon. An improvement in the form of the stocking machine may, as well as an improvement in the form of the plough, bring many an else unreclaimed acre within the reach of cultivation.”—pp. 8–10.

But although this is quite true, and is very perspicuously stated, yet it is certain that the increase of population (the land itself being limited both as to its extent and capabilities) does occasion a fall of wages, independently of any arising from the cheapness of manufactures. This has been either overlooked by Dr. Chalmers, or he has not allowed it sufficient weight, and hence he has failed to notice the *chief* reason why this share is susceptible of considerable reduction, without a proportionate deterioration of the labourer's circumstances. The fact is that, at all times, the real condition of the labourer depends a great deal more upon the demand for his labour, compared with the means and quantity of employment, than upon the *proportion*, which his wages bear to the produce. This proportion may be small, and his total earnings may notwithstanding be considerable: nay, the one may frequently be the occasion of the other. The increasing demand for produce, which raises its price, necessarily diminishes the share or proportion which goes to wages; on the other hand, it raises profits, enlarges the fund for the maintenance of labour, adds to the means and quantity of employment, and increases the sum total of wages. Their *relative* quantity is less, their *absolute* quantity is greater than before. The labourer is, in reality, better off when he earns only *one-third* of what he produces, in a state of full employment, than when he earns *one-half* of it, with only half employment.

Dr. Chalmers seems to admit something of this kind, (though he does not apply it quite in the way in which we have done,) in

the following paragraph, and which we insert chiefly on account of the remark which he makes upon it.

“The actual and historical process that has taken place, we believe to be as follows: The labourers of our day work harder than before, but live better than before. They at once toil more strenuously, and live more plentifully—putting forth more strength, but withal, drawing the remuneration of a larger and more liberal sustenance. So that while, on the one hand, we behold a harder working peasantry, we, on the other hand, behold them more richly upholden, both in the first and second necessities of life.

“Now, this may be either a deterioration or an improvement in their circumstances. One can imagine a day of slavish fatigue, followed by an evening of gross and loathsome sensuality,—as is often exemplified in the life of a London coal-heaver, whose enormous wage is absorbed in the enormous consumption, by which he repairs the waste and the weariness of an excessive labour. This surely is not a desirable habitude for the commonalty of any land; nor do we read the characteristics of a high or a well-conditioned peasantry in a state of existence, made up, first of drudgery to the uttermost of their strength, and then of grovelling dissipation to the uttermost of their means. They spend one part of their revolving day in the exercise of powers, which are merely animal; and the other part in the indulgence of enjoyments, which also are merely animal—like beasts of burden, who are better wrought than before, and, in return for this, are better fed and lodged and littered than before. They are now in better keep than their forefathers; and this puts them into heart for the greater work that is extracted out of them. Still it is conceivable of the work, that it may be so very extreme, as, on the whole, to degrade and to depress these overdone children of modern industry—and that, in spite of the greater abundance wherewith their senses and their spirits are coarsely regaled, during the intervals of their sore bondage.”—pp. 10—12.

This which is, unfortunately, but the too common effect of hard work, shows how vain is the attempt to improve the condition of the lower orders, by merely adding to their creature comforts. The vessel which carries more sail needs more ballast: so the increase of earthly possessions to the labourer, as well as to others, seems to require an additional moral counterpoise, that is, the implanting of higher and better principles, or it is likely to become more injurious than advantageous both to the individual and the community. But independently of any moral effects, education and civilization, by engendering a taste for the more refined arts of life, as well among the labouring classes as those of a higher grade, must doubtless be reckoned among the causes of the extension of agriculture and the general increase of wealth.

It is, however, impossible that this extension and increase could have been progressive without cultivation being pushed upon the poorer soils: nor would these latter have been resorted

to, unless successive falls had taken place in wages,* or profits, or both; or unless such improvements had been made in agricultural or manufacturing industry, as had increased the efficiency of a given quantity of labour, and rendered the return from the last or worst land taken into cultivation as profitable as that of the quality immediately above it was, previously to the adoption of such improvements.

Dr. Chalmers has beautifully connected this subject with Malthus's doctrine of population, by showing what indeed that eminent writer had himself long ago shown, but which is very far from being generally understood, or if understood is continually lost sight of, viz. that the tendency of the human race to multiply so as to outstrip the means of subsistence and employment, does in fact put mankind into a condition of straitness and difficulty long before the earth is fully cultivated and peopled. The produce of the soil cannot be made to increase as fast as population *would* increase, if it were unchecked: and hence the constant pressure of the latter upon the means of subsistence, and all the vice and misery which it brings in its train.

The remedies by which it has been proposed to meet the evils of an overflowing population, are classed by our author under two heads, the *internal* and the *external*. The former, the advantages of which he strongly advocates, include every thing of the moral and preventive kind. The latter respect the means of finding maintenance and employment for the continually increasing numbers who are daily and hourly seeking it. To the consideration of the nature and extent of these means Dr. Chalmers next proceeds to invite the reader's attention. He enters into them largely, and *that* chiefly with the view of showing their comparative impotence.

The chapters *on the Increase and Limit of Employment and Capital*, which introduce this subject, we consider as forming the most valuable and important part of the work, since the whole of the sequel is more or less founded upon the principles that are therein contained and developed.

This has always been a dark and intricate corner in political economy, and one that has given rise to perpetual controversy. Dr. Chalmers has explored it with the eye of a master. He has thrown a broad illumination over this hitherto foggy region. We may now find our way with tolerable confidence where nearly all before was bewilderment and delusion.

* It is necessary to observe that if the *proportionate* wages are estimated as Mr. Ricardo estimates them, by their relation to profits, they rise as society advances; but taken in reference to the total quantity produced, *inclusive of rent*, their rate is a falling one.

The doctrine relating to this subject, which has been taught by some of our most distinguished economists, our author has clearly shown to be fundamentally erroneous. The prevailing opinion among them is that the demand for commodities always increases in proportion to the supply, and that every augmentation of capital necessarily brings with it an increase of employment.

To a certain extent this opinion seems to have been entertained by Adam Smith himself; for though he fully admits at the commencement of his chapter on profits, that they are dependent upon the competition of capitalists, and therefore fall as capital increases, yet in various other parts of his work he has certainly led his readers to suppose that indefinite parsimony was the high road to wealth, and that whenever fresh capital was accumulated, and fresh products created, fresh markets were always open to receive them. The most celebrated disciples of his school, with the exception of Mr. Malthus and one or two others of less note, have adopted the same view. Some, indeed, have carried this principle so far, as to deny the possibility of a general glut or overproduction.

Their argument, it must be confessed, is a plausible one. Capital and labour being the two main instruments of production, nothing more seems requisite in order to increase the national wealth, than to bring each into presence of the other. That at any particular period there should be an excess of the one or the other seems intelligible enough; but that both should predominate or be superabundant at one and the same time, is not altogether so obvious, and seems on the first view of it almost impossible. And yet that multitudes may be seeking for employment, while capital is lying idle for want of profitable investment, is a fact but too well authenticated to leave its existence doubtful; and it is readily admitted as well as felt by all practical men. Why, indeed, it should so be, has never before been very satisfactorily explained; but Dr. Chalmers has unravelled the mystery, and shown that the great limiting cause before adverted to, which arrests the progress of agricultural improvement, does at the same time oppose an effectual barrier to the multiplication of all other species of wealth, seeing that food enters as a main ingredient into the composition of them all, and that for food some portion of them all must ultimately be exchanged.

“We may now inquire—What the real power of capital is for the maintenance of a people? There is nothing more constantly affirmed, in the writings of political economists, than the connection between these two elements: ‘The power of a country to maintain a population, is in proportion to its capital.’ ‘Increase the capital, and you increase

its power to employ and to remunerate labour.' Capital is the fund, out of which the wages of labour are paid, and labourers are supported.' These are so many different expressions for an oft-repeated aphorism in political science. Now, capital is the fruit of accumulation; and one might be led to imagine, from such representations, as if the frugality of merchants were the primary fountain-head, whence issued forth all the comfort and subsistence of labourers. At this rate, indefinite parsimony would be followed up by the indefinitely-augmenting power of maintaining labour; and, through the medium of personal economy, an unobstructed highway would be opened to increasing and successive enlargements in the amount of the population, or in the general sufficiency of their circumstances. This is the unequivocal impression given by the reasonings of Dr. Smith, on the subject of capital, and the methods of its increase. There are checks to this progress, which he has either altogether overlooked, or at least forborne to dwell upon, and bring prominently forward. The rationale of a country's advancement in wealth and economic prosperity, has thus been misconceived. The limits, placed by nature and necessity in the way of this advancement, have not been sufficiently regarded; and more especially has it been thought, that there was a creative and an emanating power in capital, which could overleap these limits, and form a guarantee against all the evils that have been ascribed to redundant population.

"And on this subject, too, we might learn a lesson at that place in the science, where so many other of its lessons are to be gathered—even at the margin of separation between the cultivated and the uncultivated land. We have already seen, that cultivation cannot be speeded forward beyond this margin, at a rate faster than the improvement in the powers of labour enables the land of next inferior quality to feed the agricultural labourers and their secondaries. If, by an undue increase of population, the cultivation is forced a greater way than this, then the land last entered on is not able to repay its cultivation, and distress is felt in the country because there are too many men. But as surely as there might be too many ploughmen, so there might be too many ploughs. If, in virtue of the excessive number of ploughmen, all cannot find employment, without forcing an entrance upon soils that would return inadequate wages for the labour, so, in virtue of the excessive number of ploughs, all cannot find employment, without a like return of inadequate profit for the capital. Nay, profit forms such a fraction in the price of most articles, that a large fluctuation of price might not only diminish profit, but annihilate it, or even, by the conversion, as in algebra, of positive into negative, might transmute the profit into loss. It appears, from this instance, that just as agriculture might be overladen by an excess of labour, so might it be overladen by an excess of capital. And at the extreme boundary of cultivation, might there be distinctly seen the operation of that check which opposes the indefinite advancement of both. Diminish the wages of agricultural labour beneath a certain rate, and ploughmen will cease to be multiplied. Diminish the profit of agricultural capital beneath a certain rate, or, still more surely, annihilate profit, and ploughs will cease to be multiplied.

Both the population and the capital are here brought alike to a stand; and, at the point now specified, both are alike impotent for the purpose of enlarging the wealth of the country. The boasted power of capital for the maintenance of labour is, in this instance at least, found to be an illusion. There is no virtue in the excess of ploughs to maintain the excess of ploughmen. Nothing but an adequate return from the soil can uphold either; and for want of this, each excess must at length disappear,—it being as true of the capital as of the population, that it is heavier than the land can bear.

“Now, what is true of agricultural, is true also of manufacturing capital. If, as we have found already, there may be too many manufacturing labourers, so may there be too many manufacturing implements of labour. On the former taking place, there is work done by human hands, without the return of an adequate human subsistence; and so a diminution of the population. On the latter taking place, there is work done by pieces of machinery, without the return of an adequate profit to their owners: and so a diminution of their capital. What is true of the living, is true of the inanimate instruments: both might be unduly multiplied. As there might be too many men, so might there be too many machines—too many power-looms, as well as too many weavers at hand-looms—too many cotton-mills, as well as too many cotton-spinners. There is a check to the one, in the lessening of wages; and in every way as sure a check to the other, in the lessening of profits. They have not looked far onward, who speak of the power which lies in capital to employ and to maintain labour. They have looked only to the first step in the process—that at which the capitalist enlists workmen into his service; and for one year, or one term, can pay them liberally and well. They have not looked to the second step—that at which the return is made by them who purchase and use the commodity that has been thus manufactured. If this return be not an adequate one, the capital is not replaced; and, after a single revolution of the economic cycle, it again starts in diminished magnitude, and with a proportionally diminished power for the maintenance of labour.”—pp. 78—82.

The consequence of all this is, that national saving is confined within much narrower limits than individual saving. There is no way by which individual capitalists can augment their wealth except by parsimony, or converting a portion of their profit into additional capital, to be employed in the maintenance of additional labour, and to become the source of additional production. And to a certain extent this may be done *generally*; but if it be carried to excess, although the capital itself may be augmented, it will yield no greater amount of profit than before; and if it be pushed still farther, the last portion of capital thus accumulated will be altogether swallowed up and destroyed.

It has been seen, that the limit to the employment of additional capital upon the land, is a return from the soil adequate to the maintenance of the cultivators according to the rates of wages

and profits at the time being; and the limit to the employment of additional capital in trade or manufactures, is a corresponding increase of agricultural wealth, such as will augment the disposable amount of food, which forms its natural market and equivalent. But Dr. Chalmers should certainly have noticed, that a mere increase in the *quantity* of food will not effectuate this. Such additional quantity might indeed be an advantage to the labourers, by awarding to each a more liberal allowance than before. But this is not enough. In order to enlarge the market, there must be moreover an increase in the *value* of the food, such as will enable its holders to put more labour into motion, and dispose them to exchange the additional quantity for more of the other products of labour.

"It might be safe and profitable for one capitalist, or a certain fractional number of them, to accumulate. But a general accumulation cannot take place, save at the expense of the general revenue of capitalists. It is true, that, so long as agriculture is in progress, there might be yearly additions to the returning or replacing power, by which as large, or a larger revenue, might be afforded to a still enlarging capital. But when the progress of agriculture becomes slow and difficult, or, most of all, when it touches upon the extreme limit, then the impotency of accumulation on the part of capitalists must be severely felt. Each new investiture, in fact, will then be followed up by an adverse reaction or recoil upon themselves. As they grow in capital, they will decline in revenue. There is no escaping from this consequence, after that the returning power has become stationary. Every addition to capital, causes just a permanent yearly abstraction of the same amount from revenue; and the same return, on a larger prime cost, is all which the capitalists reap for their pains. Society obtains their enjoyments at a cheaper rate, when, by an overdone competition among capitalists, each strains at becoming richer than before. But if there be no increase in the wealth of customers, capitalists cannot persevere in such a walk of speculation, without impoverishment and ruin to many of themselves."—pp. 88, 89.

"The domain of cultivation is, no doubt, gradually widening with the improvements that are ever taking place in the methods of agricultural labour. But when capital makes a rash attempt beyond this boundary, it is sure to be absorbed. The landlord will not continue to employ, on a land that brings no return, agricultural labourers, who might, for the sum he is yearly spending in the shape of unproductive capital, be serving him in the capacity of disposable labourers. Neither will the tenant persist in cultivating land which yields him no profit. There is no escaping from the conclusion. Accumulation, or the conversion of revenue into capital, has its limits in this as well as in every other division of the business of society. In other words, capital is hemmed in on all sides by a slowly receding boundary, which it cannot overpass; and beyond which, if it attempt to enlarge itself, it is broken into surges at the barrier by which it is surrounded."—pp. 104, 105.

The effect of this on the general rate of profit is very important; and Dr. Chalmers thus remarks upon it.

“ This brings into view a most important element, which hitherto has scarcely been admitted into the consideration of profit. We are abundantly familiar with the idea, that the rate of wages is dependent on the average standard of enjoyment among labourers. But we have not been so accustomed to think of the rate of profit, as depending on the average standard of enjoyment among capitalists. Nevertheless, it is actually so. It is a question with every individual capitalist, whether he shall spend the whole revenue of the current year, or how much of it he shall reserve, for the purpose of vesting it in trade, and so giving additional extension to his business, or finally, whether he shall expend more than his revenue, and so trench upon his capital? This question turns precisely on the balance between two appetites of his nature—between the appetite for eventual gain, and the appetite for present comfort. Should the latter prevail, *and prevail generally*, capital would be kept down, and profit be sustained. Should the latter prevail, and also prevail generally, capital would be augmented, and profit be depressed. It does not affect this conclusion, that the highway to fortune, on the part of the individual merchant, is to save as much, and spend as little, of his revenue as he can. It is true of every single capitalist, that he is all the richer by saving than spending; and that, under any given rate of profit, or with any given habit on the part of capitalists. But it is not true that capitalists collectively will become richer by saving than by spending; for, on their general habit, the rate of profit immediately and essentially depends. Could they effectuate a combination amongst themselves, they might uphold, at their general and collective pleasure, the rate of profit and interest in the land. But they are not able to achieve so extensive a concert, nor would its members be individually faithful in their observation of it; and this is not the only instance in which the good of society is secured by the impossibility of combinations. Meanwhile, nothing can be truer, than that just as the wages of labour depend on the collective taste and will of labourers, so the profits of stock depend on the collective taste and will of capitalists. With this view, profits are what capitalists in the aggregate choose to make them. And however little the rate of profit may have been associated in the minds of economists, with the standard of enjoyment in the middle classes of society—yet, ultimately and efficiently, this is precisely the element on which it turns.”—pp. 90—92.

But though the capitalists have undoubtedly the same power of maintaining the rate of their profits by ceasing to add to their stock, that the labourers have of maintaining the rate of their wages by abstaining from marriage and multiplication, yet Dr. Chalmers has not remarked that, in respect to the exercise of this power, they stand on a very different footing. The *particular* and the *general* interest of the labourer go hand in hand together, while the *particular* and *general* interest of the capitalist are opposed to each other. If the labourers could enter into a general

agreement on the subject, they would have every motive for adhering strictly to it; their own individual condition would be improved by it. Each would reap the benefit of his own prudence and foresight, at the same time that he was contributing to the welfare of all the others. Not so the capitalists. The general benefit to all would be a particular disadvantage to each. Were it possible for *them* to combine together for the like purpose, they would have a secret inclination to violate the compact. Each would wish all the rest to be bound by it, and himself to be at liberty to pursue an opposite course.

The resemblance between population and capital, both in regard to the limits of their increase, and to the facility wherewith they recover any great and sudden defalcations, was long ago noticed by Mr. Malthus, and it forms the subject of a distinct chapter in the work before us, in which the Author has illustrated it by contrasting together the condition of England and Ireland, and showing the evils under which both countries respectively labour, the one from excess of population, and the other from redundancy of capital.

“If the disease in Ireland be a plethora of population, the disease in this country is more like to a plethora of capital. If there, the mendicity be among the living instruments; here, if I may be permitted such an image, the mendicity is among the dead instruments of labour. If there, immediate labour be wretchedly remunerated by a low wage; here, the low profit makes a wretched remuneration for antecedent labour. The phenomena on this side of the water indicate as surely that capital has its limits, as the phenomena on the other side indicate that population has its limits. The annoyance one feels in the competition of porters for employment, is not more decisive of the one, than the annoyance he is exposed to from the competition of steam-boats or hackney-coaches is decisive of the other. The noisy clamour of beggars on the street, does not tell more significantly of an excess of population, than the signs of unoccupied houses, and the flaming advertisements of commodities at prime cost, and the incessant cheapening of articles to the bankruptcy and ruin of their owners, tell by another sort of clamour of the excess of capital. Between the two elements, in fact, there is a marvellous and multiplied accordancy. Both are subject to incessant checks from the want, each of its own proper aliment; the one from an insufficient wage, the other from an insufficient profit. And though both are greatly short, at present, of that magnitude which they may yet attain in the course of ages; both may press at all times on a slowly retiring limit—nor is there room in the world for the indefinite extension of either.”—pp. 135, 136.

Dr. Chalmers next proceeds to inquire into the possibility of over production. This is evidently but a corollary from what precedes—we might indeed have almost said a repetition of it.

Nevertheless his mode of unravelling the intricacies of the question, and of tracing to their source the errors of some of our modern economists on this point, is so masterly, that we cannot refrain from inserting the following extracts, which appear to us to set this matter completely at rest.

“ But it is now time for addressing ourselves to the argument of our more recent economists, for the impossibility of a general glut, in the terms which they themselves have employed in propounding it. Their reason for there being no such thing as over-production, or for a general glut being impossible, is, that any partial over-stockings of the market which may accrue, arise, not from an excess of commodities upon the whole, but from the excess of certain commodities, and so a wrong or mistaken distribution of them. They ground their proposition on the indefiniteness of human wants, or rather of human desires, in virtue of which, they affirm, there can be no excess in the supply, if known only what the desires specially are. The mal-adjustment in the market, according to them, has arisen, not from the desires of men being over-satiated with too many objects, but from these desires not being met by the right objects. If, for example, there be an excessive quantity of cotton goods in the market, they become immoderately cheap, and purchase less than they otherwise would of all other commodities, which of course are in reference to this one commodity immoderately dear. This must proceed, it is argued, from an excess of labour employed in the preparation of cotton goods, and a corresponding deficiency of labour in the preparation of the other articles which come into exchange with them. Had a certain portion of labour, then, been transferred from that quarter, where it has been in excess, to those quarters in which it has been deficient—the equilibrium would have been restored, and the cotton goods been exchanged, with all others, at a fair relative value. At this rate, there would have been no glut of any one commodity; and yet the quantity of commodities, on the whole, would have been as large as ever. On these grounds it is contended, that there can be no glut arising from over-production in the general, but only from a miscalculation as to the real state of the demand; and so a disproportionately large supply of certain articles of merchandise, with a corresponding defect and diminution in the supply of others.”—pp. 151, 152.

“ The reasoning in behalf of this doctrine we hold to be wrong, even though we should admit the supposition whereon it rests—which is, that the object proposed, in every presentation of commodities for sale, is to obtain other commodities in exchange for them. Although this were true, still there is one sense in which, notwithstanding the nicest possible adjustment, in the way of proportioning the respective articles to the respective demand for them, there yet would be a glut. There might be an over-population of the country, and so a glut of men—who, with the best possible accommodation of their industry to the taste and the wants of those who hold the materials of human sustenance in their hands, may still find the products of their industry to be too abundant, and therefore too cheap for their obtaining an adequate maintenance in

return for them. The escape from this conclusion is, that still the glut is resolvable into a mistake in point of proportion, food being in defect, and all other commodities in excess; and that so a rectification would be brought about, were a portion of the capital transferred from the preparation of the latter to that of the former—or, speaking generally, from manufactures to agriculture. But this goes on the presumption that food can be raised by turning capital to this object, just as indefinitely as houses, or ships, or steam-engines, can be multiplied in the same way. *The state of matters at the extreme margin of cultivation is not adverted to. It is forgotten why, in the present circumstances of the country, that is the margin; and why it cannot, without loss, be carried further onward or downward than it actually has been.* The ulterior land would not, in the present state of agricultural science, feed both the primary and secondary population who should be employed on it. At least, it would not do this, and also remunerate the capitalist for his outlay. Nay, there is the utmost hazard, or rather certainty, in such a state, of lighting upon soils so ungrateful, as to convert profit into loss, and so diminish the capital. It were well if this check to indefinite enlargement could be fully kept in view; for a recklessness to limits, and necessary laws on the part of the *savans* in political economy, might induce a corresponding recklessness on the policy of statesmen, and even on the general habits of society. There are certain recent doctrines in the science, which, beside being unfounded in themselves, have precisely this effect. In particular, the position that there is no limit whatever to the means of productive and profitable employment, is really tantamount to the position, that there is no necessary limit on the numbers of the species. If work can thus be augmented indefinitely, then might workmen be augmented indefinitely. It is under the influence of some such maxim as this, that a delusive confidence is encouraged, and relief for a straitened and over-burdened community is always sought for in the wrong quarter—in the enlargement of work, rather than the limitation of workmen—in the increase of produce, when nothing will effectually or permanently keep the country at ease, but a check on the increase of population.”—pp. 159—161.

The next subject inquired into by Dr. Chalmers is that of foreign trade;—how far it adds to the wealth of a country, and is a source of maintenance to the people. There is nothing more certain, though it still is apparently a stumbling block to many, that the importations of every country must, on the long run, balance its exportations; for though each country may send to any other one in particular, either more or less than it receives from that other, it cannot send to all the others collectively more than it receives from them all collectively. It hence follows that the fabricators of exportable goods, whilst they are labouring in the service of the foreign customer, are in reality as much upheld and maintained by the wealth of the home customers as those who are employed in producing commodities for the exclusive consumption of the home market,—

This, though not a new, is a very important truth, which cannot be too widely diffused; for there is no mistake more common than that of supposing that what is expended on foreign luxuries is so much drawn away from the maintenance of the home artisan, and appeals are constantly made to the public in behalf of the latter, founded on this belief. Cases indeed may arise, in which it may be desirable to give encouragement to particular branches of industry; as, for instance, when they are labouring under any peculiar or severe depression arising from unforeseen or accidental causes. But it must never be forgotten, that unless there be an increase in the sum total of expenditure, whatever is spent more upon one, is spent less upon others. The same remark applies equally to all charitable donations and subscriptions of every kind, which are a fund drawn away from the maintenance of one set of individuals, who are frequently a productive set, in order to feed another set of individuals, who are for the most part unproductive, and seldom give any equivalent in exchange for the subsistence they derive from the benefactions of their more opulent and fortunate brethren.

But though the power of exporting with advantage is limited by the power of importing with advantage, and the latter again by the surplus revenue which can be devoted to the consumption of what is received from abroad; yet Dr. Chalmers appears to us to have overlooked a material circumstance in relation to trade, both foreign and domestic, which has, we think, led him to under-rate its importance.

It is by no means the case, as he represents it, that the *whole* of what is expended in foreign productions, is deducted or diverted from the demand for home commodities. It may happen, and indeed almost always does happen, that when new openings are made for trade, there is a general extension of the market; and whenever such is the case, more scope is given for the employment of capital. This, which seldom fails to elevate the rate of profit, enables cultivation to be pushed upon poorer soils, and increases the surplus produce, which in its turn gives a new impulse to trade and manufactures.

The briskness and general increase of demand which usually follow the opening of new channels of trade, could scarcely be otherwise well accounted for; and something of the kind seems to take place in the home market whenever new articles are fabricated, which owing to their superior utility, or from the mere force of fashion, come to be in universal and high request. For such commodities a new demand may spring up, without occasioning a perceptible diminution of it, in any other quarter. The effect produced is every way similar to that which took place

towards the termination of the middle ages, and which is noticed by Dr. Chalmers. At that period the general change of taste among the great landlords, which led them to reduce the number of their dependants and retainers, and to exchange more of their surplus produce for manufactures, had a powerful effect in encouraging the production of this species of wealth, and considerably enlarged the *arena* for the employment of capital. It is probable that all increase of demand originates in some such change in the mode of expenditure. When more revenue is devoted to the acquisition of any particular commodity, that is, when a higher price is paid for it, the purchaser has no doubt less to spend on other things: but to counterbalance this, just in proportion as his powers of purchase are diminished, so are the powers of the seller increased; consequently the greater demand and the higher prices paid for such commodities do not in the least diminish or contract the general amount of demand, nor occasion any fall in the prices of other things.

It appears then, that although both the home and the foreign trade are limited by the surplus produce, yet they are themselves instrumental in increasing that surplus, and extending those very limits by which themselves are bounded. Dr. Chalmers admits, indeed, that something of this kind did take place at the period above mentioned: but he is of opinion that as soon as it had produced its effect, there was for ever an end of it; whilst we have the fullest conviction that this sort of reflex action is always more or less in constant, though silent, operation, and that it only calls forth our observation, when on extraordinary occasions it gives visible signs of its existence.

If then some have ascribed too much to trade and manufactures, Dr. Chalmers has, we think, gone as much too far the other way, and ascribed too little to them. The source of his error appears to us to be this.—He has regarded all *such* produce of labour as forming no part of the national revenue, but being merely that on which revenue is spent. He has represented what he very aptly denominates the *returning* or *replacing* power, as consisting *entirely* in the produce of the soil, or rather in that portion of it only which constitutes food. All other human productions, according to him, have their counterpart in this produce, and are resolvable into it. But surely the case is not so—The surplus food of the country, even including that which goes to the maintenance of what our author calls the *secondary* labourers, can never be equal in total value to all the other property of every description which is annually produced in it. A very large portion of the wages of labour, probably more than one half of them, is resolvable, not into food, but into other things; and when

it is considered to what a prodigious extent fixed capital enters into the composition of a large number of commodities, and consequently how much their price is made up of the profits upon that capital, the proportion of food into which they are resolvable must frequently be comparatively very small. In numberless instances the produce itself constitutes a portion of the wages, or is immediately convertible into them, independently of any exchange or exterior demand whatever. The tailor, the shoemaker, the hatter, the coal merchant, &c., may partly remunerate their workmen in their respective productions, viz. clothes, shoes, hats, coals, &c. and partly in each other's, after having effected a mutual interchange among themselves. Dr. Chalmers makes no account of this; though to us it seems a very important matter, and one which materially affects the case, especially as it relates to taxes, as we shall presently have occasion to show. Nevertheless it does not impugn his main doctrine respecting the limiting principle of all portion—for however small the proportion is, of *other things*, which *must be* exchanged for food, the absence of a sufficient quantity of this *absolutely necessary* aliment will put as effectual a stop to production, as if the whole of them were resolvable into it.

But the particular view which our author has taken up respecting the nature of *revenue*, and which is the same as that originally propounded by the economists of the school of Quesnay, has unavoidably led him to the adoption of their grand conclusion on the subject of taxes,—namely, that they fall entirely upon the land.

This seems to be the most vulnerable part of the work, and it is perfectly curious that our author, who includes in *his* idea of wealth all that is useful or delightful, whether material or immaterial, should, on this particular subject, have arrived at the same result as a sect who excluded from *their* idea of it, every thing but the surplus produce of the soil. This too is the more remarkable, as the opinion of the French economists upon this point may be clearly traced to their own narrow view of the nature of riches, and has always been considered by those who have adopted a more liberal definition as constituting one of their capital errors. The notion which they entertained, and which gave rise to their views respecting taxation, was founded upon the supposition that the manufacturer, during the process of his occupation, consumed in subsistence a value equivalent to that which he produced, and that consequently he did not add to the aggregate amount of wealth, but merely, as it were, continued or prolonged the existence of that which was in being, antecedently to his own labour, and independently of it. Such labour was, therefore, in

the estimation of these ingenious authors, *unproductive of wealth*. They did not consider that had the same amount of subsistence been consumed by a soldier or a menial servant, no such product as that which issued from the hands of the other sort of labourers would ever have been fabricated or seen the light, and that consequently the consumption of subsistence by the one set of individuals or by the other, would make the greatest imaginable difference in the total quantity of commodities annually produced and consumed. Moreover, they left totally out of sight the *increment* of value produced by the artificer over and above his consumption in the shape of *profit*, and which, even upon their own showing, ought to have been included in the sum total of the national wealth. Such however was *their* view of the matter, and they drew from it the inference, that all taxes in whatsoever way raised, or on whatever objects imposed, must ultimately fall upon the soil. As the manufacturer gives his *all*, in exchange for subsistence, should any portion of it be taken from him he has less to exchange for that subsistence. The loss is consequently *theirs* from whom he derives it. Whatever share he is compelled to pay to the state, in reality belongs to them, and would otherwise have been given to them. A tax upon him is a tax upon them. They are the *real* while he is only the *nominal* or *apparent* contributor.

It is quite unnecessary for us to enter into the refutation of an error founded upon such false assumptions as those which we have just noticed, but as Dr. Chalmers has arrived at the same conclusion by a totally different route, it becomes incumbent on us to examine into the validity of the argument, whereby he has sought to revive a doctrine which has been so long since exploded.

The ground whereon he rests it, is the controul which the labourers and capitalists respectively have over those elements of price, wages, and profits, whereby they have the power of shifting the burden of taxation from off their own shoulders to those of the landlord. Now, admitting that they have this power in its fullest extent, (though we know that practically it can be exercised in a very limited degree, for the reason which we have before stated, viz. the impossibility of combination for the purpose) these classes do, notwithstanding, contribute very largely to taxation, and this, we doubt not, we shall be able fully to prove to the satisfaction of our readers.

And first, as to the labourer's share.—It is allowed on all hands that as the wages of labour are (or at least would be, if left to find their natural level) proportioned to the demand for labour at the time being, a tax on necessaries, or any tax affecting the labourer's *ordinary* expenditure, must occasion a corresponding

rise of wages—Such taxes must therefore fall upon his employer. But it must not be forgotten, that there is a large class of commodities which do not in any way affect the labourer's ordinary expenditure, viz. all such as do not consist of the first and second necessities of life, and which, for the sake of distinction, are usually denominated luxuries.

The taxes which are laid upon this description of articles, can have no influence whatever in determining the rate of wages. They can, consequently, have no effect in raising them, nor can their repeal lower them. Those labourers, therefore, who are in a condition to purchase and consume such objects, must necessarily by their expenditure contribute to the public burdens. Now this is in reality, the condition of all who have no families to maintain. *Their* wages are not lower than those of their own class who have families. *They* have always a surplus, which they may, and which for the most part they do employ in this way; and though for each individual it cannot be large, the number of individuals makes up for the smallness of their contribution, and the aggregate amount must be very considerable. Whatever raises wages increases this surplus; whatever depresses them diminishes it; but be its amount greater or less it constitutes a taxable fund, which indeed, can only be reached indirectly, that is, through the medium of taxes upon luxuries, but which when it is so reached, cannot be evaded, or got rid of otherwise than by saving or directing the expenditure to other objects.

Then as to the employers of labour.—They have no doubt the power which Dr. Chalmers contends they have, of reimbursing themselves for a tax which affects their profit, by contracting their capital and raising its rate. But this power they might equally have exercised independently of the existence of the tax. If then on its imposition they do exercise it, the tax is no less a deduction from their profit; since the very same contraction of their capital, which before would have raised their profits, is now only sufficient to maintain them where they were, or restore them to the point from which they have fallen by reason of the tax. But even admitting that they suffer no diminution in respect to the *rate* of their profit; the capitalist must notwithstanding bear the burden of the taxes, which fall upon those commodities in which they realize their profit, and from which they likewise can only escape either by saving or otherwise disposing of their income.

Dr. Chalmers says:

“Many are the instances in which it is quite palpable, that the first incidence, and the ultimate effect of a tax, lie on different persons. Perhaps the most frequent and familiar example of this is, when a tax on commodities falls at first upon the manufacturer or the dealer; but

he indemnifies himself by raising the price, and so transfers the burden of it to the purchaser. He shifts the imposition away from himself to another; and the question is, whether there are not whole classes of men, who, though they do pay taxes ostensibly, do not, in fact, substantially and really, pay them at all. If a merchant, in particular, can escape from the tax laid on the commodity in which he deals, can he not equally escape from all attempts to reach him by taxation in some other way? If, by raising the price of his article, he can indemnify himself for a tax upon commodities, has he not the same resource against a tax upon profits, or a tax on any of the objects of his expenditure?"—p. 266.

This question we are ready with our author to answer in the affirmative. We have always been of opinion that all taxes upon commodities are ultimately reimbursed to the capitalist by a rise of price, and must always fall upon the purchaser. We do not see any more than Mr. Perronet Thomson, (whose remark on this point is cited by Dr. Chalmers,) how a man should be able to indemnify himself for a tax levied upon him under one name, and not be able to indemnify himself for the same tax, when it is levied upon him under another name. But in the following conclusion which Dr. Chalmers draws from it, we are far from agreeing with him.

"If it can be proved, that all taxes, affecting the status of the capitalists, are made up for to them by higher prices; and that all taxes, affecting the status of the labourers, are made up for to them by higher wages—this would seem to conduct us to the old doctrine of the French economists, though by a different process from theirs, that all taxes fall ultimately on the net rent of land. The common imagination is, that this is a doctrine which has been long exploded. The reasoning may be exploded, but yet the doctrine may be true notwithstanding, and may be established on the foundation of other reasoning."—pp. 267—268.

Now all this is founded upon the notion, which we hold to be utterly inadmissible, that the proprietors of the soil are the *sole demanders* for manufactured commodities, and that whatever is consumed by the other classes, is only so much which is thrown back, or allowed them, by these, their sovereign lords and masters.

Either Dr. Chalmers or ourselves must lie under some great misapprehension as to this matter. We fully admit his limiting principle, as we have already stated, and are quite ready to allow that all other produce must be proportioned to that of the land. It is nevertheless true, that to a considerable extent, all producers are likewise the consumers of each other's commodities, and that consequently, although their profit may be as to its *rate* exempt from taxation, their *expenditure* is not equally exempt from it. If in consequence of a tax of 2*l.* laid upon any particular commodity, its producer can raise its price from 10*l.* to 12*l.*, it is no

doubt true that after payment of the tax, he will remain with 10*l.* in his pocket as before. So far he is unaffected by it. But if he goes to market in quest of any other commodity in the like predicament, he must pay 12*l.* instead of 10*l.* for it. In other words, he gets but four-fifths of what he got before for the same money. The increment of price which he receives for what he sells, goes to the state; the increment of price which he is obliged to pay for what he purchases, falls on himself. He cannot shift the burden on any one else. Nor is the result different, if the commodity which he consumes is one of his own fabrication, and is subject to the payment of a similar tax. In such case one-fifth of it must go to the public treasury, and there will remain but four-fifths for himself. We do not see how the tailor or shoemaker, or other trader, albeit their profits are untaxed, can on that account escape from the taxes which are laid on the tea and sugar which they consume.

But Dr. Chalmers has taken it into his head, that the power of consumption on the part of all the other classes of society, is by them derived altogether from the landlords or mortgagees upon the land. Now although the disposable population do certainly draw their subsistence from the soil, and are so far dependent upon the holders of its produce, yet in order to procure it, they are not under the necessity of parting with the whole of what they produce, but only a portion of it. The remainder goes into other channels; and considering the extensive use of machinery and fixed capital, which is now every where employed in production, this remainder must constitute a very considerable portion of the whole. We hold it, therefore, to be an utter mistake in our author, to imagine that the power on the part of the labourer and of the capitalist to augment their respective remuneration, exempts them altogether from contribution to the taxes on luxuries; seeing that, as respects the former, such taxes either when laid on or taken off, can have no effect in altering the rate of their wages, and that as respects the latter, the exercise of the power in question would, *but for the tax*, have raised their profits still higher.

Judging, however, that taxes are chiefly injurious, by restraining the employment of capital upon the land, and thus arresting the general progress of wealth, Dr. Chalmers proceeds to examine how far they are attended with this effect; and in his remarks relating to this part of the subject, the difference between us is but small. We agree with him, that taxes which are laid either directly on rent or on luxuries, can interfere but little with cultivation, but that those which are levied on wages, or profits, or the necessities of life, must in some degree tend to narrow it.

The soil must needs be of richer quality, when in addition to the accustomed rate of wages and profits it has to bear the burden of a tax. Such taxes, in the estimation of our author, fall upon the landlord with twofold force; first, by enhancing the price of commodities generally, and secondly, by depriving him of the additional rent which would have otherwise accrued to him by the extension of agriculture. He, therefore, recommends their abolition and the substitution of a direct tax on rent. This, however, involves the important question on which we are at issue. In our view of the case, the change proposed by Dr. Chalmers would be throwing the burden wholly upon the landlords, and exempting all the other classes of consumers. According to his notion, it would resolve itself into another and more eligible form of imposing the burden on those, on whom, in any case, it is sure ultimately to fall.

But, though we differ from Dr. Chalmers so materially, respecting the ultimate incidence of taxes, we entirely concur in the view which he takes of the question of tithes, excepting indeed that we doubt whether their abolition would reduce the price of grain a single sixpence, or confer even a temporary benefit on the consumer. It would alter neither the *immediate* supply nor the *immediate* demand, and the future increase of the supply which it would naturally promote, would be very speedily counterbalanced by the increase of population. We do not however the less ardently desire to see this provision for the church changed into some other equally secure and less objectionable one. In their present form tithes are a perpetual source of strife and contention between the incumbent and his flock. If the former attempt to enforce what is his due, an outcry is forthwith raised against him. He is hunted down as a monster of rapacity. The consequence is obvious. He is in most cases defrauded of a portion of his income, being compelled to submit to the loss of it in order to preserve his influence.

But apart from the consideration of this inconvenience, which is one of no small magnitude, and which cannot fail of being a matter of deep concern to every right minded man, tithes have this peculiar disadvantage attached to them, that being levied on the *gross* produce, they have a decided and in many cases must have a powerful effect in repressing cultivation, and confining it within narrower limits. Many a plot of ground, which would probably have been reclaimed from waste and have yielded a profitable return, has been suffered to lie neglected, because the cultivator would have been compelled to give up to the tithe owner a portion of what properly constitutes the repayment of his outlay, and which ought to go to the reintegration of his capi-

tal. Nor is this all—When the inferior qualities of soil can not be touched, the superior ones already under culture are less forced than they otherwise would be, and the church, the landlord, and the community lose the additional produce which, but for this circumstance, would have been created and distributed among them.

“Tithes, as at present levied, are in the very predicament of those taxes which restrain the progress of agriculture. Like them, they oppose a barrier to the entrance of the cultivator on poorer soils than the last which has been occupied; and like them, too, they prevent the superior soils from having so deep and thorough a cultivation as they otherwise should have had. Under this system cultivation is not so extensive, because prevented from going forth on so poor an out-field as it might; and neither is it so intensive, because prevented from doing its uttermost on the land already under process of husbandry. Without the burden of tithes, fresh land might be taken in, so long as it is able to feed its agricultural labourers and their secondaries, and yield to the tenant a remunerating profit. But, with this burden, the land is required to do all this, not from its whole produce, but from only nine-tenths of its produce. And so the cultivation is sooner arrested, having now to make an earlier stop, at land from which more is exacted, and therefore at better land. Cultivation makes its last effort at the point where it ceases to be profitable; and this will be all the sooner, when required to do, with nine-tenths of its produce, that which, in a natural state of things, it would have been left to do with its whole produce. At this rate, the cultivation will stop short at land at least a tenth better than that to which it might otherwise have stretched itself. We can offer no computation as to the extent of intermediate soil, between the natural and the artificial limits, which is thus left uncultivated; but certain it is, that, in virtue of tithes, the operations of husbandry must be confined within narrower boundaries.”—pp. 311, 312.

According to the Ricardo theory, inasmuch as tithes fall on the land which pays no rent, they enhance the price of corn to the consumer; and it is on this account, and not from any supposed *temporary* benefit which would arise to the community, as Dr. Chalmers seems to think, that the advocates of this doctrine are desirous of seeing them altogether done away with. Their error is a natural inference from the original fallacy which has been so ably exposed by Mr. Perronet Thomson. There is a *given* population to feed, a *given* quantity of corn *must therefore* be grown, recourse *must therefore* be had to as much land, whatever its fertility may be, as will yield this quantity, and *consequently* the last or worst quality of soil *must* govern the price of the whole. As Archimedes would have moved the world, could he have procured a fulcrum *ab extra*; so, grant to these ingenious reasoners but their first postulate, and all the rest follows as a

most logical deduction from it. The superstructure is beautiful, but the foundation is of sand. Corn is not grown because there is a *given* population to feed, but because it yields the ordinary return to capital employed in that particular manner. The previous condition of its growth is such a demand as will yield this return,—and this, we know from experience, the mere existence of starving numbers will not create. It is the grand error of this system to have confounded the cause with the effect. It puts the cart before the horse, a circumstance which, it has been somewhere happily remarked, is of no moment, *until* it becomes a question whether the speed of the machine shall be most accelerated, by the yoking on of an additional horse, or an additional cart. But in fact this question does arise at every turn and corner of the subject, and the error is the more unlucky, as it serves to foster a prevailing delusion, and give force to a base and unprincipled clamour, against an order of men who have as sacred a right to their property as undisturbed possession, immemorial usage, and the universal acquiescence of ages can well confer.

The only party who really suffers by the tithe is the one who is rarely heard to complain, viz. the landlord. Were the tithes abolished, he would receive so much additional rent; and, on the land which had before yielded none, the tithe would become such. The remark of Dr. Chalmers respecting taxes on wages, profits, or the necessaries of life, and which is true of them only to a certain extent, applies in its fullest extent to tithes, namely, that they fall on the landlord with twofold force, first in the shape of deduction from his rent, and secondly in the loss of what would otherwise accrue to him by a more widely extended and deeper cultivation. A judicious alteration of the present tithe system is therefore in every point of view “a consummation devoutly to be wished.” We say with our author, that—

“We would both maintain the church, and relieve the agriculture; and so at once enlarge the room, and, through the medium of religious instruction, keep up that wholesome influence on the habits of the peasantry, which best serves to mitigate the pressure arising from the recklessness and brutality of a neglected population. The clergy, in particular, should rejoice in the church being exonerated from the odium that now lies upon it—should be the first to hail and to help forward the consummation of a measure, by which the hierarchy of England might be extricated from a position so obnoxious, as that of even appearing to stand in the way of the nation's wealth, or the comfort of its families. The reformation of the present system were an incalculable blessing to the church of England; and that, not merely because it would disarm the hostility of statesmen and economists, but because it would do away the topic of a thousand heart-burnings in every parish of the

kingdom. And, in like manner, as we have pled, not for the abolition, but for the commutation of taxes; so would we plead, not for the abolition, but the commutation of tithes.”—p. 321.

It must however be acknowledged, that owing to the peculiar nature of tithes, and the object they were originally designed to serve, the difficulties which lie in the way of securing to the church any other more suitable provision than one which has been established under such sanctions, without endangering or altogether destroying its property, are of no ordinary kind. There is no enlightened clergyman who is not satisfied that his own individual interest would be promoted by a change; but when he has to consider that the question respects a species of property of which he has but the usufruct and the administration during his life, without the absolute disposal of it, he may well pause before he concurs in any new and untried schemes, lest he be the innocent instrument of introducing evils greater than those which are sought to be remedied. Those who are bent on change of any kind, are very apt to see nothing but the bad that *is*, and the good that *may be*. The good that *is*, is kept out of sight; and the bad that *may be* is unknown. It is on this account that changes are seldom found to fulfil the expectations even of their projectors and advocates.

When we stated, in our general remarks on this work, that our author had wisely abstained from entering into any discussion respecting the meaning of terms, we should in truth have made an exception in respect to the chapter on productive and unproductive labour, which is the next that claims our attention. We could wish it had been spared, as well for the sake of uniformity as because it is comparatively unimportant. It turns altogether upon a question of nomenclature, and one respecting which we do not think our author has taken the most correct view.

When Adam Smith designated lawyers, physicians, and statesmen, and even the sovereign himself, as *unproductive* labourers, he evidently had not the smallest intention of undervaluing or casting any disparagement upon their services. So far from this being the case, he expressly states that among this class are to be found some of the gravest and most useful of mankind. But having defined *wealth* to consist of material objects, he could not in consistency include among *productive* labourers those whose services, however important or necessary in other respects, did not realize themselves in such objects. *Quoad hoc* they are *unproductive*, and this is all that is meant by the term when it is thus applied to them.

Those who maintain the contrary opinion, and Dr. Chalmers appears to be of the number, are of necessity obliged to extend

the term *wealth* to immaterial qualifications; and as among these it is quite impossible to draw any line, it sometimes leads to a confusion of ideas, which it must be confessed does sometimes border upon the ridiculous.

But the reader shall have our author's sentiments on this topic in his own words. Contending that there is no real distinction between these two descriptions of labour, he says—

“One man's labour ministers to my enjoyment, through the medium of a tangible commodity; another man's labour ministers to my enjoyment without this intermedium. The confectioner, whose delicious morsel I swallow, is a productive labourer: the musician, whose delicious tune I listen to, is an unproductive labourer. And yet, what economic injury is sustained, though I should pay the one as much for his performance, as I pay the other for his preparation? The gratification to me is equal, or rather greater in the music than in the eatable, seeing that I preferred it.”—p. 334.

In reply to this, we might very fairly ask, which would most enrich a country, to stock it with eatables, or to fill it with musical tunes? But in fact the question does not respect enjoyment, unless indeed *enjoyment* and *wealth* are synonymous and convertible terms, which we hold they are not. We enjoy the society of those who are dear to us,—the beauties of nature,—the warmth of the sun,—the freshness of the evening breeze,—and a thousand such like and other things which it is vain to attempt enumerating, so great is their extent, and so endless their variety. But who ever conceived the idea of applying to enjoyments of this kind the name of wealth?—or, who ever thought of saying that a man returned from the playhouse or the opera as rich as he went thither, because in exchange for the price of his admission he had obtained a corresponding quantity of sight and sound? “The *terminus ad quem* of all labour,” says Dr. Chalmers, “is the enjoyment of those who buy its products, whether these be material or immaterial.” True,—the *terminus ad quem* is the same in either case, but the *modus quo*, or instrument, is not the same. When this instrument is a material one, we give to it the appellation of wealth, because it is visible, tangible, transmissible, and is always susceptible of a definite valuation. When it is immaterial, we do not denominate it wealth, because it is invisible, intangible, intransmissible, and in the great majority of cases is not susceptible of a definite valuation. To affirm that there is no distinction between them because each in its own particular way ministers to our use or gratification, seems to us much as saying, that because a man shall sometimes take exercise on foot and sometimes on horseback, walking and riding are therefore the same things.

It is scarcely worth pursuing the subject further. Our author has fallen into the common error of all who adopt the same view. They labour to show that there is no distinction in the *end* to be attained, while the only distinction which has ever been contended for respects the *means*, the very great difference between which in the two cases renders some classification necessary; and surely there is none so palpable nor so well defined as the one laid down by Adam Smith.

Neither can we admit the following assertion of our author:

“It makes no difference to the wealth of the country, whether the consumers incline more to those gratifications, which come through the vehicle of a tangible commodity, or to those which, without such intervention, yield the same, and perhaps a superior enjoyment.”—p. 335.

It appears to us, on the contrary, to make all the difference in the world. The one species of gratification calls forth the employment of a productive capital, the other does not. It was the very change of taste from the one sort to the other that occasioned that remarkable increase of general wealth alluded to by Dr. Chalmers in the former part of his work, and which not only furnishes an answer to this latter assertion, but shows at once the necessity of clearly distinguishing between these two sorts of labour.

The remaining chapters of the work comprise the following matters, viz.—The Law of Primogeniture; Emigration; The Poor Laws; and Education; besides remarks in the Appendix on Machinery, Home Colonization, the National Debt, Profit, Free Trade, the Corn Laws, and the reform of our Financial System.

On these several subjects we coincide in the main with our author, always however excepting what relates to taxes and finance.

We entertain no doubt whatever that the law of succession which has so long prevailed in this country, has not only been favourable to the growth of opulence, but likewise more serviceable to the cause of liberty than has commonly been supposed. If the land of the country were broken down into small allotments, it would doubtless diminish the number of that class to which Dr. Chalmers gives the name of *disposable*, and the taxable fund of the nation would be impaired. Moreover by its tendency to increase the number of residents within a given space of territory, it greatly aggravates the evils incidental to density of population, of which Ireland, in which this system is unfortunately carried to an extreme, affords a melancholy example. But on the other hand, very large and overgrown properties are by no

means so favourable to general demand, as when they are divided into a greater number of more moderate ones. Excessive incomes are often wastefully and improvidently spent. A much larger portion of them usually goes towards the maintenance of simple unproductive labour, and consequently a smaller portion is exchanged for other goods: in other words, they are expended in a way much less favourable to industry, and less conducive to the gradual development and increase of a country's resources, a circumstance to which we think our author in his remarks on this subject has not paid sufficient attention.

Although emigration is but as the drawing off of the superfluous or unhealthy blood from the human system, and can afford but temporary relief; yet in times of unusual pressure, it may be resorted to with advantage; and we agree with Dr. Chalmers in thinking, that as a subsidiary remedy, it might become most serviceable, if properly combined with a scheme for the reformation of pauperism, which, after all, is the grand evil requiring cure.

To a compulsory provision for the maintenance of the poor our author is a well known and decided enemy. In the present work he repeats all his former objections to such artificial modes of relief; and especially deprecates the introduction of the poor law into Ireland.

On the subject of the national debt, Dr. Chalmers has advanced a new and somewhat whimsical opinion, namely, that it is defrayed by the public, or rather according to his theory, by the landlords, twice over,—first, in the enhanced price of commodities which it occasions; and secondly, in the perpetual annuity entailed upon them, in order to compensate the national creditor. We have no doubt that the expenditure of the state, when it is defrayed by loans, instead of taxes, has the double effect of increasing the demand at one end, and diminishing the supply at the other; since what would probably have been accumulated or converted into a productive capital, is not only kept back from this particular application of it, but is furthermore unproductively expended. That this tends to raise the rate of profit there can be no doubt: but that it does so to the full extent of the entire sum borrowed, is hardly credible. Can it for a moment be imagined, that the twenty or thirty millions annually borrowed during the late war, were by the sole operation of such borrowing, added to the profits of our merchants and traders, and all this too at the expense of the landed interest?

It appears to us, that the rise of profits during the late war was occasioned by a combination of causes, of which that alluded to by Dr. Chalmers, though one of them, was not by any means the most

important one. Had the government expenditure at that period been defrayed wholly by taxes instead of loans, (which, however, we must admit would have been attended with some difficulty, much more indeed than our author seems to be aware of,) the vast increase of unproductive consumption would, notwithstanding, have occasioned the same degradation in the value of money which then took place, and which, while it is going on, is always advantageous to the productive classes. The benefit which they derived from the general fall in the value of money at that period, was moreover heightened and increased by the *depreciation* of the currency, or the greater fall of that particular part of it which consisted in paper.—Not only did the bullion prices of labour and goods keep advancing, but the paper prices kept advancing at a still greater rate, until both attained their maximum, and as all fixed payments were estimated in this latter medium, the advantages to the merchant, the trader, the farmer and the manufacturer were prodigious.

As these two distinct causes, the general *degradation* of money and its *depreciation* are frequently confounded together, and the confusion has given rise to some very wild theories on the subject of currency, it may not be amiss to take this opportunity of entering into a more particular explanation respecting the difference between them. The value of money, its command over labour, and the mass of commodities, is very different in different countries, being generally the least in those which are the richest. Among the latter, such as are in possession of great natural or artificial advantages, whereby they are enabled to produce commodities, which are in great request in other countries, necessarily draw to themselves and retain a larger proportionate share of the precious metals, which raises the general scale of their prices, and maintains them at a higher comparative range, a circumstance which gives them a great command over the labour and produce of those other countries. The high price of labour in America is the natural consequence of her large exports of cotton and tobacco; and in England it is mainly occasioned by her extraordinary manufacturing skill and power, and not as is commonly supposed by taxation. Whatever alters the state of these comparative advantages, such as the increase or diminution of foreign trade, and the increasing or decreasing skill of other countries, occasions a corresponding exportation or importation of the metallic basis of the circulating medium in each, and at the same time alters the general scale of prices throughout.

The value of money is further liable to vary, owing to the increase or decrease of the quantity annually or periodically yielded by the mines; and again from the fluctuations in the

general state of the demand and supply of commodities. From these, which may be termed the *natural* causes of the variations in the value of money, the public annuitant or the recipient of any fixed and unalterable money payment cannot escape. The money comes into their hands with this liability of fluctuation attached to it, and which is inherent in every thing else produced under the sun, and which is an object of demand. So far then as profits during the war were raised by the operation of any of these causes, they had no just ground of complaint. But when they were furthermore paid in a depreciated currency, or in paper, which was not worth the gold which it professed to represent—when not only the gold given them was less available in its purchase of other things, a circumstance to which they were always liable, but a *less quantity* of such gold was given them, and this too under the plea that its value had risen, when its diminished command over labour and commodities plainly indicated that it had fallen—it must be confessed that a great injustice was done them. Such, however, was to them the result of the bank restriction act, an act which originated in the excess of paper, which had been previously issued to relieve the exigencies of the state, and the necessity for which would have been quite uncalled for, had the money been raised either in the way of loan or by a tax, which it no doubt would have been, had the subject been in those days properly understood. Now, it was the object of Mr. Peel's bill to remedy this, to restore the *nominal* currency to its proper value, and put it on the same footing as the *real* currency, which it ought always to have been. The fall of prices to the extent of the difference between the paper and the gold at the time of passing it, is all that can in fairness be ascribed to the operation of that bill. Beyond this, the fall has been occasioned by the general rise in the value of the currency, a circumstance originating in the extinction of the large war expenditure, followed up by the increasing accumulation and competition of capital, and the increased production of commodities, and aggravated perhaps by the improved skill and industry of other countries, and the falling off of the supplies of metal from the mines. All this would equally have occurred had there been no depreciation or restoration of the paper currency, no suspension of specie payments, and no return to them—no Mr. Pitt and no Mr. Peel.

What do those, therefore, want, who clamour so loudly about the necessity of enlarging the currency? Do they wish to see the restriction act revived? That were to defraud the national creditor *de novo*. Do they ask for the extinction of the bank monopoly and the establishment of competition banks in the

metropolis and throughout the country? In that case, for every note issued by the latter, one of corresponding amount must be cancelled by the former, or the gold will forsake our shores, and the temporary rise of prices be succeeded by a more ruinous and lasting depression. It is, therefore, quite idle to talk of relieving the national distress by resorting to expedients, which would either involve us in a national bankruptcy, or would introduce evils of still greater magnitude than those which it is intended to remedy, and which, after all, they would fail to remedy. The currency, like every thing else, has its boundary which it cannot over pass, at least for any length of time, nor without being productive of more or less mischief in proportion to the attempts that are made to exceed it.

But to return from this digression to the more immediate subject which gave occasion to it. It cannot be denied that a rise in the money prices of commodities, when brought about by natural causes, is favorable to the developement of industry and the increase of wealth. It has indeed been contended by some, that an increase of the circulating medium, arising either from the augmentation of metallic money, of paper money, or of credit, raises every thing, (fixed incomes excepted,) and consequently leaves the relative proportions of all eventually the same as before. Of what advantage, it has been asked, is it to the producer to sell his commodity nominally ten per cent. dearer, if he must himself pay ten per cent. more in wages and raw material? Of what disadvantage is it to the landlord to pay ten per cent. dearer for what he consumes, if he receives ten per cent. more rent, which he is sure to do, at the expiration of the current lease. But whenever the currency is enlarged the effect on commodities is almost immediate, whereas on wages and on rent it is slower and more remote. During the interval, profits are raised and a corresponding impulse given to production. Nor is this rise of profits, which diminishes the proportion of wages, injurious to the labourer. To him it is fully made up by increase of employment. This was eminently the case at the particular period referred to. Throughout the war the demand for labour was great and continued. Not only men and women, but likewise children, found ready occupation, and though each got a smaller share of the value and quantity which was produced, yet as more was really produced in a given time, and all were in full work, the family in the aggregate earned a great deal more. This we apprehend to be the real secret of the extraordinary prosperity of the productive classes during the war.

In regard to the variations in the value of money, as they affect

the prices of labour and of commodities, Dr. Chalmers seems to have inverted the order of precedence. He says :

“ The various expedients so much resorted to, of loan and anticipation, have all of them the obvious and certain effect of advancing, for the time, the money price of labour; and this advance in the money price of labour must, we think, tell directly on the money price of all that is purchased by labourers.”—p. 501.

Now it is not the price of labour which moves first and that of commodities afterwards, but the prices of commodities which move first and that of labour which moves afterwards. From not having paid attention to this circumstance, which experience has, we think, put beyond all controversy, our author has been led to ascribe the extension of agriculture during the war *exclusively* to the rise of prices without a corresponding increase of taxation. That the national creditor was, during that period, paid in money of a lower value, or that his fixed money income went less far in its command both of labour and of the produce of labour generally, is what we have before admitted to be true; and that this helped to raise profits, and encourage the employment of a larger capital, we are quite willing to allow. But the chief effect, we hold to be more immediately owing to the cause we have just noticed, viz. the continued rise of the prices of commodities, *antecedently* to the rise of wages. So long as this was going on, (which in fact it did during a succession of years, with very little interruption) it could not fail of being a source of great prosperity to the capitalists, and must be reckoned among the main causes of the rapid increase of wealth during the whole of that memorable period.

At the termination of the war the movement became a retrograde one—commodities fell first and wages afterwards—the consequence was, a long and protracted state of glut, the conversion of profit into loss, the throwing of multitudes out of employment, and the extinction and destruction of a large amount of capital, which has, notwithstanding, still continued to be disproportionate to the demand for it.

In the appendix the true principle of profit is correctly stated and explained, and the error of the Ricardo school refuted.

But in the note on rent, though there is nothing particularly to object to in it, our author does not enter so thoroughly into the explanation of its nature and origin, as we should have expected from one who must be well acquainted with Mr. Malthus's luminous tract on that subject, and which he has subsequently embodied in his *Principles of Political Economy*, the only work which, in fact, contains the true doctrine of rent, as the ingenious

essay of Sir Gilbert West, which appeared about the same time and which has often been referred to, is neither so correct nor so comprehensive.

The causes of rent are there stated to be three, viz.

1. The power of the earth to yield more food than is necessary for the maintenance of its immediate cultivators.
2. The quality peculiar to food, when properly distributed, to create a demand for itself proportioned to its quantity.
3. The comparative scarcity of fertile land, either natural or artificial.

The specific error of Mr. Ricardo was not so much that he took a wrong view of rent, as that he took a partial one. He adopted exclusively the third of these causes, and threw the other two overboard; and treating this as the *sole* and *primary* principle which was but a *consequential* one, it vitiated all his conclusions. The various gradations of soil, which this cause involves, though they account for the generation of rent, at an early period of cultivation, and are necessary to its formation in the actual state of things, are in reality not necessary to the *possible* existence of rent; for had the surface of the earth been of an uniform quality, the operation of the other two causes, without the aid of this third, would have been sufficient to have engendered rent, so soon as it had been cultivated throughout: only that in that case, rent would have borne a nearer resemblance to those common monopolies with which it has been frequently confounded.

The distinction then between the peculiar monopoly of the land, (if indeed this term can with propriety be applied to it) and all other monopolies, natural or artificial, is one of the distinguishing characteristics of rent, and it seems to have been equally misunderstood by Mr. Ricardo and Mr. Perronet Thomson.

In the case of an *artificial* monopoly, the result of a patent or a secret, the quantity of the commodity brought to market is dependent solely upon the caprice of the producer. The high price is obtained by his limiting the supply.

In the case of *natural* monopolies the supply is limited by causes independent of the will of the producer, and the high price is occasioned entirely by the competition of the buyers. It has therefore no assignable limit. It is in all cases an excessive one, that is, excessive in relation to the cost, and might admit of considerable reduction without in the least diminishing the quantity produced. Not so the produce of land. *Its* price is always a *necessary* one; necessary to the production of the actual supply, necessary to the cultivation of that quality of soil which yields the last portion of this supply. What the price is at any given time is determined by the state of the demand at the time. If it falls,

land is thrown out of cultivation, and the total quantity of produce is diminished; and if it rises, poorer land may be taken into cultivation, and the total quantity of produce is increased. Whenever, too, it is so increased, that is, whenever the additional quantity produced is not the mere result of a more abundant harvest, but originates in that wider and deeper cultivation which is the natural consequence of a higher price, there must be a corresponding increase in the number of demanders. These could not possibly have existed antecedently to the new produce. It has therefore raised them up, and they on the other hand have a power of demanding it. If they had not, it would be an over-supply, and its price could not be what it is. Its *profitable* production is, therefore, at all times the evidence of its proper distribution.

But though a rise in the price of corn is necessary in order to secure an increased supply, whenever the state of the demand requires it, yet this rise, unlike that of other monopolies which are without limit, has its maximum; for by no possibility can it ever go beyond that of the labour which it can maintain. As a given quantity of corn can only feed a given number of men, it can never command more labour than theirs, nor consequently can its price ever reach beyond the price of their labour. This is a boundary which, in the nature of things, is impassable, and which must ever remain so, so long as food is necessary to the support of life.

Of these several important circumstances involved in the existence of rent, viz. the progressive rise and limit to the value of food, the necessity of the actual price to the actual supply, and the essential difference between property in land and other properties, which give rise to monopolies, the author of the *Wealth of Nations* was certainly ignorant. We are, therefore, but little enlightened on the subject of rent, when the opposers of Mr. Ricardo's system refer us back for an exposition of its true principles to the doctrine of Adam Smith. They are to be found only in the writings of the author who originally discovered and brought them into notice, and to them we refer the reader for further elucidation on the subject.

Dr. Chalmers is of opinion that the use of machinery does not in the least diminish the funds for the maintenance of labour,—and, in the long run, this may be the case. Nevertheless if its introduction were not slow and gradual, which it in fact always is, its substitution for human labour might be severely felt by the working classes, since its *immediate* effect is, certainly, to throw them out of employment.

On the subject of free trade and the corn laws, our author ad-

vocates the most liberal system of policy. He is, however, quite alive to the effect which the free admission of corn would have in raising the value of money, and increasing the burden of the national debt, a circumstance by the way, which is quite left out of sight by those who are so clamorous for the abolition of the corn laws. This Dr. Chalmers proposes to meet by a proportionate compensation.

As we by no means assent to our author's doctrine respecting the ultimate incidence of taxes, so we cannot coincide with him in the propriety or justice of their commutation into a general income tax, and still less into a territorial impost. We have already expressed our opinion that indirect taxes do not fall exclusively upon the landlords; but that the capitalist, whenever he realizes his profit in taxed commodities, and the labourer, whenever he expends his wages on taxed luxuries, do each of them defray out of their own proper and respective funds, the taxes which are laid upon those articles.

To convert indirect taxes into direct ones, in the way in which it has sometimes been proposed to do, is obviously to exempt all such from any share of the burden, which at present very fairly falls upon them. Such a commutation is, in our opinion, not only unnecessary, but it would be unjust: and we cannot but regret that our author should have lent to any such scheme the sanction of his great name, convinced, as we are, that if attempted to be carried into execution, it would turn out to be extremely oppressive and injurious in its operation, and might lead to incalculable mischief.

With the exception of these special points, which relate to trade, taxes, and finance, and some few others of minor importance, we have the advantage of coinciding with Dr. Chalmers, and think he has fully wrought out the main conclusion which it was his professed object to establish. His work may be considered as forming a beautiful corollary to the propositions of Malthus, among which are to be included, as well those which lie scattered generally throughout his publications, as that more prominent and remarkable one which forms the chief argument of the celebrated essay by which he has more especially earned to himself a title to everlasting fame. The limitation of cultivation to the soil which can maintain the cultivators,—the tendency of capital to accumulate more rapidly than the means of employing it advantageously,—the natural and permanent fall of profits owing to the competition of the owners of this capital,—and the facility wherewith it recovers any deficiency, and repairs the breaches that are made in it, all these are doctrines which may be found in the writings of this distinguished author, and they

form the groundwork of the volume now before us. But if Dr. Chalmers can lay no claim to the original discovery of these principles, he has nevertheless the signal merit of having collected and linked them together, shown their mutual connection and dependence upon each other, and formed them into one consistent whole. The inference which he has drawn from them when thus united is both momentous and highly interesting; and it forms the completion of his views on the subject. His conclusion is to this effect,—That, inasmuch as the limit which retards and checks the progress of population, does at the same time oppose an insurmountable obstacle to the employment of more, at any particular time, than a given amount of capital, it is as vain and fruitless endeavouring to force the one, by multiplying commodities for which there is no demand, as it is to force the other by encouraging to marriage, when the market is already overstocked with labour; that each has an impetuous tendency to overpass that boundary, which, from time to time, is marked out for them by a power more slow-paced than themselves; and that if we would mitigate or correct the evils incident to this incessant struggle, we must not waste our strength in perpetual and hopeless efforts to extend that boundary; we must not rely on our attempts to bring up food and employment to the level of population and of capital. There is before us a much *more excellent way*. The true course of procedure is rather to resort to all practicable and legitimate measures for the confinement of population and capital within the limits of food and employment. It is only by engendering in the youth of both sexes habits of prudence, of foresight and self-denial, implanting in them the desire of bettering their condition, and teaching them to exercise a controuling influence over their conduct and passions, that we can hope for any remedy or alleviation of the evils incident to excessive numbers.

Nor can this be effected solely through the intervention of a *mere* moral agency. Unless principles of a more exalted character and a more powerful influence are allowed to be mixed up with those instructions which have for their object the advancement of the earthly interests of mankind, the latter are likely to be thrown away or perverted to bad purposes. As well might we expect a harvest to spring up out of a stone pavement, as for the seeds of morality to thrive vigorously in any but a religious soil. It is therefore our highest interest, as well as duty, to assist faithfully and strenuously in diffusing throughout the land the blessings of a *Christian* education; and to uphold and cherish those Religious Establishments, whose more especial province it is to superintend and to direct the operations of religious discipline. All

this, will doubtless sound like old wives' tales in the ear of those who have been stunned with the Babel clamour against religious orders and institutions; and the *enormous* wealth which the folly of past ages has heaped on an insolent priesthood! Nevertheless, we must not wax weary of reminding the public, that the day is at hand, in the light of which these inordinate riches will be found to shrink, on the whole, into a mere pittance;* and in the interval we must, in spite of all *incredulous hatred*, proclaim our belief that if ever the spirit of grudging should prevail, and strip the religious orders of that pittance, the day of its power will be the most calamitous that ever rose on England. For in that case to what quarter can we look with any hope of relief from the evils which beset us on every side; evils with which human power alone is unable to grapple, and which seem to be interwoven with the very frame and constitution of society.

We feel the most perfect conviction that—

“Through the medium of Christian instruction, a rightly organized church will do more for the economic comfort of the families of the land, than all the other schemes of philanthropy and patriotism put together.”—p. 319.

“We hold that a church establishment is the most effective of all machines for the moral instruction of the people; and that, if once taken down, there is no other instrumentality by which it can be adequately replaced.”—p. 328.

The evils of life have at all times attracted the attention of philanthropists and philosophers. They form a problem which admits of no satisfactory solution, and they will probably ever remain an inscrutable mystery to us. Why a system should ever exist which renders them necessary it is vain to inquire. But such a system being in existence, it is demonstrable that they could not be got rid of without leading to others of still greater magnitude. It seems wisely ordained that food shall exist in limited quantity, and that man shall earn it by the sweat of his brow. Had it been otherwise, and that subsistence could have been at all times procured by whomsoever needed it in unlimited abundance, or that eating and drinking were, like walking or riding, simply a matter of convenience and amusement, there would have been no effectual or definite check to population, and men would have swarmed like insects, until for want of sufficient space to dwell in, they would have become an intolerable nuisance to each other. A mere lack of clothing and of the other *second* necessities of life would, on the one hand, neither have operated powerfully enough to have kept down the numbers of mankind within moderate and comfortable limits, nor, on the other, would

* A commission is now actually appointed to enquire into the revenues of the church.

it have afforded a sufficient stimulus to have occasioned the production of any considerable quantity of wealth. Nothing short of an iron necessity, an inexorable *sine quâ non*, is adequate to these important purposes. It is the limited quantity of that which is essential to life which does this.—Food, *under the particular circumstances in which it is now produced*, sets the whole machine in motion, and regulates its action. Man must eat in order to live. Hence the multiplication of the species is confined within limits which are conducive to the sum total of the general happiness and comfort. But he must also work in order to eat. Hence he must either produce food himself, or failing to do so from want of the proper means, he must produce something else whereby he may earn it of those who are in possession of more than they can themselves consume, and who are willing to part with it in exchange for other things.—This is the real secret of the existence of all other descriptions of produce, and the cause of that endless variety of commodities which constitute so large a portion of the wealth of the civilized world.

“Those,” says Adam Smith, “who have the command of more food than they themselves consume, are always willing to exchange the surplus, or what is the same thing the price of it, for other gratifications. What is over and above satisfying the limited desire, is given for the amusement of those desires which cannot be satisfied, but seem to be altogether endless. The poor, in order to obtain food, exert themselves to gratify those fancies of the rich; and to obtain it more certainly, they vie with one another in the cheapness and perfection of their work. The number of workmen increases with the increasing quantity of food or with the growing improvement and cultivation of the lands. Hence arises a demand for every sort of material which human invention can employ either usefully or ornamentally, in building, dress, equipage or household furniture, for the fossils and minerals contained in the bowels of the earth, for the precious metals, and the precious stones.”*

This peculiarity in the nature of food, which renders it a commodity “distinct from all others and pre-eminently valuable,” is calculated to call forth both our admiration and our gratitude. It has been beautifully illustrated by our author in the following extract, with which we shall conclude our notice of his work.

“There is a certain point, beyond which, if human beings were multiplied, a serious inconvenience must be felt, from the mere crowding and compression of their excessive numbers. This is obvious enough, should it take place within the limits of any separate locality; but it would be as sure and severely felt, if, in virtue of a production of food *ad libitum*, it did take place over the whole surface of the globe. The human species would then become as sordid and miserable, as those

maggots appear to be who swarm on some mass of hideous putrefaction. The herrings that accumulate and condense in the western bays of our island, are said to push the outskirts of their shoal upon the beach. And better surely that there should be such a limitation in the powers of the land, and such an utter impotency in human art to multiply beyond a certain point the means of subsistence, than that the great human shoal should be protruded at its extreme margin into the sea, and serve for food to the fishes there waiting to devour them. Rather than that this goodly earth of ours should be turned into a human ant-hill, it is better for man that he should have uncumbered fields—that he should have open and spacious solitudes, to which he might make occasional escape from its more crowded receptacles, and might, on the ample domain of nature, company with nature's elements, and inhale their freshness. It is no interest, and ought to be no care of his, that the terrestrial space on which he walks, should be so over-peopled; or that, for the mere sake of numbers, human beings should multiply to suffocation. The number of His derived and dependent family, is the care of Him who sitteth on high—and most nobly hath he provided for it. He who hath the command of infinity, hath enriched its mighty tracts with innumerable worlds; and, without overburdening the one we occupy, He finds accommodation and space for the innumerable myriads of creation. Better far, than that, from the vomitories of human mechanism, there should go forth indefinite subsistence for indefinite multitudes—better far, that this should have its fixed and impassable limits; and that men with the glorious arch of heaven above their heads, and with an ample platform beneath them, should walk forth in largeness and liberty, the privileged denizens of nature.

“There is an optimism in the actual constitution of the land, as in every thing else that has proceeded from the hand of the Almighty. Had its fertility been limited to the maintenance of agrarian and secondary labourers, we should have had no disposable population; and neither science nor civilization would have arisen, to bless and to adorn the companionships of men. Had its fertility been unlimited, or could the powers of human art have extracted, without measure, the necessities of life from any quarter of nature, the species would have lived in greater sordidness and misery still, on an earth laden by its wretched, because its overcrowded generations.”—pp. 471—473.

ART. III.—*Death-Bed Scenes and Pastoral Conversations.* Second Series. By the late John Warton, D.D. Edited by his Sons. London. Calkin and Budd, Pall Mall. 8vo. pp.543. 1832.

WE are not about to whisper to the late Dr. Warton's sons, executors, and representatives, the ungracious advice "*Solve senescentem*;" for the goodly steed which they have taken upon themselves to bestride does not as yet betray a single symptom of the infirmities of old age. His action, indeed, is as vigorous, his paces are as steady, his courage is as high, and his bottom is as sound (if we may thus persist in our metaphor of the *manège* without fear of riding it to death) as when he first took the field, nearly a lustre and a half ago. Still, nevertheless, there are signs and tokens which induce us to wish that he would change his course. *Toujours beau chanter souvent ennuye*, says the French Proverb: and he is after all assuredly the most skilful musician who is best aware of the fitting moments for occasional change of time and of movement, or even for the introduction of a discord. Now Dr. Warton has so repeatedly

"Turn'd and return'd *in not* a different way,"

weaving and counterweaving the same interminable texture—*dum vetus in telâ deducitur argumentum*—that we should most gladly see him throw the shuttle, of which he has proved that he possesses so nice a mastery, in search of some fresher figure and some newer pattern.

Of Death-bed Scenes in Ancient Literature, the best known and the most remarkable are those of Cyrus and of Socrates. The account of the last moments of the former of those great men, even if it were not altogether at variance with received History, carries with it much internal evidence of fiction. No man labouring under a sickness which is to be mortal, and after three days refusal of food—*τῷ δὲ ἡ ψυχὴ σίτον μὲν οὐ προσίετο . . . ὧς δὲ καὶ τῇ ὕστεραίᾳ συνέβαινεν αὐτῷ τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ*—can be supposed to retain strength enough to make a set speech which shall occupy more than half a dozen octavo pages; and on that ground alone we might feel confident that his *παῖδες καὶ παρόντες οἱ φίλοι* never heard one syllable of the discipline upon which the Persian monarch informed them that his conduct had been framed, of the sound advice which he delivered for their own future guidance, of his theories regarding Death and Sleep, and of his instructions for his laying out and burial,—all these matters belong to the imagination of Xenophon. On the other hand, we as confidently believe that we do really possess the substance, if not the very

words, of the conversations held with the great Athenian Sage during his imprisonment, down to the very moment in which he poured out his last libation and drank the fatal cup. And it is needless here to offer a eulogy, which might seem vapid, misplaced, and impertinent, upon those almost divine speculations, which confessedly have never been equalled in purity, piety, or loftiness, by any other product of merely *human* intelligence.

In later days, if we look only for a picture of manners, we have little doubt that we shall find one very accurately drawn in that wild Runic composition, the Death-Song of Ragnar Lodbrog. No one will suppose for a moment that we mean to avouch the truth of that personage's history, nor that we entertain the slightest belief that he really delivered the words attributed to him by the Northern Scald. Nevertheless, we are convinced that the feeling which pervades that terrific Ode genuinely represents the spirit with which the Scandinavian warrior of those days and the North American Savage of our own would encounter a death of refined and lingering torture. The recital of their battle-deeds, of the rivers of blood which they had shed, of the banquets with which they had glutted the eagle and the vulture, of the glory which they bequeathed to their posterity, and the vengeance which they expected at their hands in return, of the opening scenes of immortal bliss, varied according to the tenets of the particular mythology of each, which then floated before their eyes; all these are the natural themes suggested by their past modes of life: and the *Ridens morior* is probably the latest meaning which would quiver on the expiring lips of either the Icelanders or the Iroquois.

The narratives of approaching death which are to be found in the Biographies of Izaak Walton, and in Bishop Burnet's unique and unrivalled account of his communications with the Earl of Rochester, are beyond all praise; and a few other pleasing specimens will, perhaps, offer themselves to the recollection of every reader. But, on the whole, Christianity has not been fortunate in similar relations. For a while the Monastic writers deluged the World with legends; every Death-bed presented an actual and often a visible struggle between the Powers of Light and of Darkness for the departing Soul, which winged its course from the mouth of the Sinner or the Saint, as it happened, under the semblance of a Raven or of a Dove, accompanied by the yelling of Dæmons or the strains of celestial harmony; fetid with the fumes of sulphur or redolent of the gales of Paradise. The dawn of the Reformation tendered much to dissipate these shadows, even among the Romanists themselves; and it then became a Court fashion, especially in France, that every person of distinction should be reputed to make a goodly end; and, whatever

had been his past course, to go away "into Arthur's bosom as it had been any chrison'd child." Some Divine in attendance was always sure to offer the pen of a ready writer to the task of canonization, and to scatter flowers of Theology upon lips from which the name of God had seldom issued unless in blasphemy. Perhaps no more curious instance of this prevailing habit of apotheosis can be mentioned than will be found in a short Tract, not of very common occurrence, purporting to convey an account of the few days during which Francis, Duke of Guise, lingered after receiving his death-wound from the assassin Poltrot, at Orleans. The Duke of Guise, whose stock of Literature probably did not exceed a correct knowledge of the Alphabet; who, on one occasion, grievously scandalized his wily and more erudite brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, by not recognizing a Bible at sight; and whose entire life had been engrossed by alternations of pleasure and of ambition, is made in those pages to exhort his youthful son to regularity of moral habits; to preach nuptial fidelity to his Wife, who had afforded him opportunities for recrimination; and to inculcate humility and obedience upon the bystanders in general. His thoughts are conceived with the devotion of a Hermit, and enounced with all the technical subtleties of a Doctor of the Sorbonne; and so overflowing with grace and unction is the Sermon which Charles, Bishop of Rienz, has put into the dying Prince's mouth, that, with but few and trivial alterations, it might have been delivered *ex cathedrâ* by the Prelate himself during the mortifications of *Le petit Carême*.

Of Obituaries in the Saintly Periodicals of our own times we forbear to speak; they may be read *usque ad nauseam* on the Kalends of every succeeding month, when the enrolment among the Blessed of some great mother in Israel furnishes abundant sweet discourse for the tea-tables of the deceased's sectarian Coterie. The subject is dangerous, and if it were pursued, might bring hornets about our ears. It may be discreet, therefore, to confine ourselves to those writers—

" *Quorum Flaminiâ tegitur cinis atque Latînâ;*"

and on the principle that a living Class-Teacher is more to be dreaded than a dead Pope, we will restrict ourselves to contrasting with the relations of Dr. Warton a few Death-bed Scenes recorded by a Pontiff among the most distinguished and influential of those who have worn the tiara—Gregory the Great.

Many Chapters in the IVth Book of Gregory's *Dialogues* are occupied with mortuary narratives; but, before we approach these, we must pause a little upon the earlier marvels which attended the decease of Scolastica, Sister of St. Benedict, one time

Abbot of the Monastery of the Lateran. That Lady, who had dedicated herself from earliest youth to the service of Religion, indulged in a single annual visit to her brother, when the Abbot was used to pass some hours in conversation with her, in a spot not far from the gate of his Monastery. A day had just been spent in one of these holy colloquies, and the Abbot and his brethren who accompanied him were preparing to take their leave, when Scolastica earnestly besought him to remain with her till morning, in order that they might discourse more fully on the joys of Heaven. The good man was somewhat startled at this unexpected request, and answered that no inducement could persuade him to pass a night without the walls of his cell. The sky at the moment in which he so spake was bright and unclouded, but no sooner had Scolastica placed her hands upon the table, having first inserted the fingers between each other, had bent her head down upon them in silent prayer, and had raised it again upward, than lightning so furious and torrents of rain so overwhelming burst from the heaven, that the holy men were constrained to abide, however reluctantly. The machinery by which this miracle was worked was not a little remarkable—*Sanctimonialis quippe famina caput in manibus declinans lacrymarum fluvium in mensam fuderat, per quas serenitatem aeris ad phuviam traxit.*" Nor was this affinity between the tears of the Sainted Woman and of the sky displayed without good reason. Benedict, although loth at first, protracted the night in spiritual communion; and it was the last occasion on which such an opportunity was to be afforded him. Three days afterwards, while he sate in contemplation in his cell, lifting up his eyes to heaven, he beheld his sister's soul, even as it quitted her body, mounting aloft in the shape of a Dove. He announced her decease with confidence to his fraternity, and upon sending to Scolastica's Priory, they found that his anticipation was verified.*

We pass on to the great mass of stories in the IVth Book, which we shall take at hazard, beginning with that of Spes, Abbot of Cample, a Religious House six miles from Nursia, who had been totally blind for forty years. At the expiration of that long period his sight was unexpectedly restored, and he received a monition that death was at hand. He employed a fortnight in visiting the neighbouring monasteries and in preaching at every one of them successively. On the fifteenth morning he assembled the members of his own convent; received the Eucharist together with them; and while he was taking his share in Psalmody gave up the ghost. All the brethren who were pre-

* *Dialogi B. Gregorii* II. 33, 34.

sent at the moment of his departure, testified that they saw a dove fly out of his mouth, pass through the roof of the chapel, which opened for its egress spontaneously, and finally penetrate the empyrean.*

When Probus, Bishop of Reatina, was seized with that illness which proved mortal, all the physicians of the neighbourhood were summoned to consultation. The patient's pulse announced that life was fast ebbing, and that Art could not hope to check the receding current. The good Bishop, however, to the last moment more attentive to the comforts of others than to his own, as the day advanced, insisted that his medical friends should adjourn to the Refectory; and he was accordingly left in his couch with a single little boy as his attendant. This child, who survived in man's estate at the time at which Gregory was writing, used to relate that no sooner had the company withdrawn, than he saw two men enter the chamber, whose raiment and faces glittered with insufferable brightness. Astonished and terrified at the vision, the boy cried out lustily; and the Bishop, starting at the noise and perceiving the cause of alarm, endeavoured to assuage his fear by an assurance that the shining strangers were no other than the martyrs St. Juvenal and St. Eleutherius. Far from being comforted by this explanation, the lad took to his heels, and announced to the Doctors and the Divines above stairs the marvel which he had witnessed. They hastened to the Abbot's chamber; but the Saints had vanished, bearing with them the soul of their devout friend, which they had been commissioned to fetch.†

The dying hours of a lady named Galla were marked with yet higher distinction than those of Bishop Probus, and her story was confirmed to Gregory by the witness of many grave and trustworthy persons. Galla was of noble birth and connections, and having been early married, was left a widow during the first year of her nuptials. The Physicians assured her that her complexion and temperament demanded a renewal of the marriage bond; and that unless she consented once more to become a bride, the heat of her constitution would exhibit itself by the germination of a beard; an event which occurred according to their prediction not long afterwards. *Sed sancta mulier nihil exterius deformitatis timuit, quæ interius sponsi celestis speriem amarit, nec verita est si hoc in illâ fœdaretur quod a celesti sponso in eâ non amaretur.* Having consecrated herself to a recluse life in St. Peter's Nunnery, she passed many years in continued acts of devotion and charity. At length she was afflicted with a cancer; and one night while lying awake, with two candles burning before

* *Dialogi B. Gregorii II.* iv. 10.

† *Id.* iv. 12.

her bed—*quia videlicet amica lucis non solum spirituales sed etiam corporales tenebras odio habebat*—she saw St. Peter standing between the lights; and moved more by affection than by fear, she boldly asked, “What is it, my Lord? are my sins forgiven?” The Saint nodding with a benignant smile, answered, “They are forgiven: come with me!” Galla’s next request was that she might be permitted to take with her a nun to whom she was much attached. St. Peter, however, named another nun as her immediate *compagnon de voyage*, giving her assurance that sister Benedicta, for whom she wished, should not be more than thirty days in following. All which matters occurred even as the Apostolic vision declared; *quod factum nunc usque in eodem monasterio manet memorabile.**

The spirit of sister Romula, a Roman nun, took its departure in company with two Choirs of celestial Psalmists, who sang in the street before the door of her cell; and the attendants could plainly distinguish the voices of different sexes joining in the antiphony.* Sister Tarsilla had a more beatific vision than any we have yet recounted; and no soberly pious mind can regard without pain and shrinking the daring falsehood or fanaticism of her legend. *Sicut nobilibus fœminis virisque morientibus multi conveniunt qui eorum proximos consolentur, eâdem horâ exitûs ipsius multi viri ac fœminæ ejus lectulum circumsteterunt. Tunc subito illa sursum respiciens Jesum venientem vidit, et cum magnâ animadversione cepit circumstantibus clamare, dicens, “Recedite, recedite, Jesus venit!” cumque in eum intenderet, quem videbat, sancta illa anima e corpore est egressa.* Her reward, it is added, was fully deserved; for when her body was washed for burial, the skin of her knees and elbows was found hard and horny as that of a camel, through the perpetual exercise of prayer.†

The gift of tongues was sometimes bestowed upon those about to die, as was evinced in the person of a cow-boy belonging to Valerianus, a distinguished inhabitant of Rome. During a pestilence which raged in that city, the boy became infected; and after lying for some hours as in a trance, on recovering his senses he requested to see his master. On the arrival of Valerianus, the boy assured him that he had been in heaven, and that he had there received information respecting those of his companions in the household who would die under the pestilence, specifying by name such and such individuals. For Valerianus himself there was no present fear. As a proof of his celestial visit, the boy, who was known to be illiterate, declared that he could address any man in his own language; and, to the admiration of all who heard him, he conversed in both Greek and Latin with as much

* *Dialogi* B. Gregorii II. iv. 13.

† *Id.* iv. 15.

‡ *Id.* iv. 16.

facility as if he had been taught those tongues from earliest youth. Two days afterwards he expired, having first torn his hands and arms with his teeth, in a fit of delirium. All the persons whose death he had foretold speedily followed him.*

Count Theophanius, when dying, was gifted with prescience respecting a trifle, which, small as it was, enabled him to console his wife. As he lay in his last agonies, a very heavy storm was raging, and the Countess bitterly lamented that it would be quite impossible that she could venture out to attend his funeral. The sick man bade her dry her tears; for that no sooner should the breath have quitted the body than the weather would turn out fine—*cujus protinus vocem mors et mortem serenitas secuta est.*†

One or two examples, of a more fearful character, are interspersed with these comfortable demises. We read of a boy, five years of age, whom his Father had spoiled by indulgence, and who was sadly addicted to profane swearing. In his last illness this unhappy child saw Evil Spirits approaching him; buried his head in his Father's bosom, calling for help against the Blackamoors (*Mauri homines*), who were come to take him away; and then with a fearful oath upon his lips gave up the ghost.‡ Another wicked boy, in Gregory's own convent, struck by a contagious disorder, lost the use of his lower extremities, and urgently begged the Monks who were praying by his bedside to desist, and no longer to protract his agonies by struggling against a Dragon who had already swallowed his head, and but for their intercession would put him out of pain at once by devouring the rest of his body. The good Fathers intreated him to make the sign of the Cross; but he replied that although he felt the inclination, he was hindered by the pressure of the Dragon's scales. Undismayed by this declaration, the Monks redoubled their prayers, till the sufferer exclaimed, "Thanks be to God, you have chased away the Dragon! Pray now for my sins; for I am ready to be converted and to abandon my former evil courses." Time was given him for repentance; nor did he die till after he had undergone very salutary mortifications.§ A Monk of Thongolaton, in Isauria, with whose sad history we shall conclude our citations from Pope Gregory, had much harder measure dealt to him; and for a sin which, at least in Protestant estimation, scarcely demanded a punishment so severe. He had lived long in high esteem among his brethren as a strict observer of discipline, and they were gathered round his deathbed, accordingly, in the hope of hearing words contributing to edification. But alas! the dying man was oppressed with consciousness of secret sin.

* *Dialogi B. Gregorii II.* iv. 26.

† *Id.* iv. 18.

‡ *Id.* iv. 27.

§ *Id.* iv. 37.

Hunger, it seems, had often proved too strong for devotion; and when he appeared to fast, he had in reality fed himself from a private cupboard. "*Quando me vobiscum credebatis jejunare, oculiè comedebam, et ecce nunc ad devorandum Draconi traditus sum, qui caudâ suâ mea genua pedesque colligavit: caput verò suum intra meum os mittens spiritum meum ebibens extrahit.*"*

Little apology can be requisite for having thus dwelt upon these ridiculous fables. It should be remembered that they are delivered by no less authority than that of a pen once deemed infallible; that they formed part and parcel of a Religious Creed which asserted the damnation of the incredulous as the certain consequence of their rejection; and that this same Creed still numbers many followers, who blindly consider them to be no less veracious than the Gospels themselves. These matters are too often forgotten; and doubtless we shall not altogether escape the accusation of *illiberality* for bringing them to recollection. But the days which have witnessed the denunciation of the *Burning Turf* still retain vestiges of the spirit which prevailed in those of Gregory the Great; and, paradoxical as it may appear, nothing is more true than that the extremes of superstition and of infidelity may co-exist in the same Country and at the same hour.

It is with widely different feelings that we at length turn directly to the Death-bed Scenes of Dr. Warton. The present Series consists of Six Chapters, respectively headed—I. The Souths.—Aged Converts. II. Mrs. Bolton.—Happy Old Age. III. Mr. Greathead.—Hopes and Fears. IV. Mrs. Brown.—Contentment. V. The Catechumens.—Confirmation. VI. Mr. King.—Sectarianism. We may here premise that the last two of these Chapters, occupying considerably more than half the volume, are *not* Death-bed Scenes, and have not the very remotest connection with the general title. They are admirable in themselves; they please us perhaps beyond any former production of the same pen; and, moreover, they are strong vouchers that their writer himself perceived the advantage of some such change as that which we have ventured to recommend at the commencement of this Review.

The second chapter re-introduces us to Mrs. Bolton (whom no reader of the former volumes can have forgotten) when she has passed the great limit of fourscore years; and there is scarcely a page or even a line in it at which the heart does not glow and the eyes fill with involuntary but most delightful tears. We have seen the very counterpart of this excellent woman, at even a more advanced period of life, and we recognize the truth of the portrait in

* *Dialogi B. Gregorii* II. iv. 38.

every touch. It is the work of a skilful artist, and his skill is not the less deserving of applause because (as we do not doubt) he has had a noble original for the subject of his pencil. Even the denunciation of Cards, in which we think Dr. Warton somewhat too pointedly agrees, and which is far from meeting a response in our own bosoms, is conveyed with charity, and Mrs. Bolton speaks of the amusement as not necessary to her own happiness, more than as decidedly censurable in others. We know not whether George III. played whist, but we do know that of all Princes who ever filled the British throne *he* was the least likely to sanction by his authority any amusement unbecoming a Clergyman; and we may appeal, in support of our assertion, to his Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury on the introduction of Routs at Lambeth Palace during an early period of his reign. On another occasion, when a Divine, venerable alike for his Piety and his Learning, of morals the most unblamed, of suavity the most attaching, of principles the most exalted, was to kiss hands on the tardy attainment of a richly merited dignity, some officious meddler had whispered to the King that the newly preferred Dean was a Whist-player. George III. who possessed singularly extensive knowledge of private life among his subjects, and who happened to be acquainted with the reasons which made the relaxation especially desirable in this instance, did not forget the hint, but he employed it in a manner which sufficiently disappointed the malignity of the informer. He congratulated the Clergyman in question when he appeared at the first Levee after his preferment; and added, in the hearing of the whole Court Circle, that he hoped he would still enjoy his Rubber.

But we return to Mrs. Bolton; her love of children is among the most natural touches in her character; it is a sentiment which never fails to accompany a cheerful old age, and which affords the strongest possible evidence that Dr. Warton has drawn from life. Her aspirations after another world must not be told in any language but that which has been so feelingly attributed to her.

“ ‘All fear of futurity,’ Mrs. Bolton answered, whilst her eyes sparkled, ‘may unquestionably be overcome, but not without a firm faith and trust in God’s covenant through Jesus Christ. None, probably, who know what his holy law requires, would venture to stand upon their own merits, but on *his* they may. And it is to be hoped, that some persons have had this faith and trust in full perfection during their whole lives, and consequently, having been always convinced of God’s mercy towards them, were never tormented with painful fears at all; and the same persons, no doubt, might have hailed the approach of their latter end with a certain degree of joy, although their duty would have taught them to wait with patience for their appointed time. The anticipation of unchequered happiness, and the delightful thought of re-

joining our dear friends, might well make us all even to long for our great change, when it cannot be far off, and the chief purposes of our existence have been fulfilled. But the constant dwelling upon these ideas, Dr. Warton, tends, I believe, to increase our confidence, that God will certainly accomplish his ultimate promises; and at any rate a reflecting person, in the course of a long life, has seen God's goodness in so many instances, that his faith and trust in it must needs be greatly augmented towards the end. It would be difficult, my dear Sir, to persuade *us* old people, that God will desert us at last after having blessed and supported us so long. I wish to speak humbly, as I think humbly, of myself; but I will tell *you*, my dear Sir, without scruple or affectation; the Gospel being my pole-star, I have very comfortable hopes of the next world, and they grow stronger and stronger every day.'

"The intuitions of the good, after the experience of years, are more satisfactory than the very demonstrations of the ablest of men. I listened to Mrs. Bolton, as to one who stood on the confines of Heaven, and already caught the delicious breeze wafting therefrom, and was infallibly assured of its existence and its bliss."—pp. 89, 90.

"Hopes and Fears" is a tale of darker character; and although considerable power is displayed in it, and the *diablerie* is, for the most part, kept in tolerable subjection, it seems to us (and we may hope it seems so truly) far more the product of Imagination than many of its brethren. Mr. Greathead, whose life has been spent in the pursuit of gain, not always by justifiable means, and in the uncontrolled indulgence of vicious passions, is overpowered with the terrors of approaching death, and fancies that the Devil is grimly sitting at the head of the bed waiting to pounce upon his departing soul. This frame-work, as will be perceived, resembles some of the Monkish tales which we have already mentioned; and it unfortunately brings to mind also the grotesque impling which Sir Joshua Reynolds has introduced, with little regard to good taste, in his Picture of the Death of Cardinal Beaufort. We hasten by the spectre itself in order that we may arrive at the valuable application of it made by Dr. Warton.

"This, no doubt, was dreadful to everybody; but I observed nobody, to mark how they were affected. My whole attention was riveted upon the man himself alone. As he spoke, he writhed his body about, and betrayed all the sensations of one around whom a thousand devils were crawling on every limb. His eyes darted rapid looks of abhorrence and terror. 'Be silent!' at length I said with solemnity, and with my finger uplifted authoritatively; 'Be silent, I enjoin you, that you may hear what I, the minister of Christ, have to say for your direction and comfort.' In an instant his perturbation was wonderfully calmed; he expected something, I presume, like a magic charm at once to expel the king of terrors from his post, and drown him for ever in the Red Sea. His face was fixed on mine with an incessant, undeviating, and anxious gaze. 'We see no spectre ourselves,' I continued, with the same slow

solemnity; ‘none of us see anything unusual to alarm you; but it is very possible that *your* eyes may see something which ours do not.’

“‘Aye, aye, Dr. Warton,’ he interposed, ‘*that* is it; he shows himself to *me*, and not to the rest of you—his errand is to *me* alone.’ ‘So it is,’ I resumed; ‘and the errand is a gracious one, although delivered by so fearful a messenger. God sends him, or creates the fancy in your mind (it matters not which, it is just the same); he sends him to hasten your repentance for the past, and to redouble your cares for the future. There is a world in futurity to be peopled with countless millions of beings, like *him* whom it hath pleased God that you should see, or imagine that you see, and whom you equally fear and abhor. But what should be the effect of your fear and abhorrence?—To throw yourself without a moment’s delay upon the divine mercy; to seek reconciliation with God in the way that he has appointed; and thus, if it be not too late, to disappoint this wicked minister of darkness and torments of his expected prey. Who knows but that a merciful God, appeased by your tears of contrition, and by your prayers for help and pardon, may dispatch a mighty angel of light from his blest abode, the gracious minister of salvation, to replace, with his heavenly guard, this ugly, terrific fiend, whom you so justly dread. It is but the usual goodness of God to the penitent sinner, who desires to recover himself from the snare of the devil, and asks for strength from above to do it.’

“‘Ah! it is too late, Dr. Warton—it is too late!’ he cried, interrupting me. ‘This fiend is not sent to warn, but to take me!’ ‘I hope not,’ I said immediately; ‘I trust not, if you begin sincerely to repent.’ ‘Oh! I repent, Dr. Warton,’ he replied with eagerness, ‘I repent with sincerity, I am sure. I never saw my wickedness so clearly, or deplored it so strongly before. But it is too late, it is too late!’ ‘If your own heart does not deceive you,’ I said, ‘it is not yet too late. The purpose of this direful messenger has been accomplished, if you are now really touched with a deep and awful sense of your sins; if you now feel confident, that, with the usual blessing of God upon your endeavours, you would not in any case, should your life be spared, relapse into them again. But still I will not ask God to withdraw him, till God himself see fit. Evil as he is, he has been the minister to you of good. He has given you a lively picture of his kingdom, in which the fire is never quenched, the worm never dies. You start back, as well you may, with horror from the precipice overhanging the gulf in which such beings dwell with everlasting burnings; you repent that your passions and appetites ever beguiled you to the brink of such a precipice; you would fly now from Satan to God. If this be no transient feeling, no mere momentary terror of the divine vengeance, to disappear with the disappearance of this frightful spectre, but a permanent principle, the beginning of wisdom, and the seed of righteousness, to spring up and bear fruit under the cherished influence of God’s holy spirit, the gracious object is answered; henceforth you may wake or sleep in peace. This being, I promise you, will haunt you no more.’”—pp. 128—131.

“Mrs. Brown,” or “Contentment,” although admirable in itself,

is far too palpably artificial for the situation which it occupies. No old blind and deaf alms-woman ever harangued so much at length, and in terms so finished and elaborate, as are attributed to this good lady; and there is a want of verisimilitude in assigning to such a person thoughts and expressions which Cicero and Seneca, if they had been Christianized, need not have blushed to acknowledge. No passage which we recollect in Ogden himself is more striking (and we believe Dr. Warton's main thought to be wholly original) than the following account of Prayer, which Dr. Warton extracts from Mrs. Brown for the benefit of a rather querulous overhearer.

“ ‘But,’ I said, ‘this is one of the questions which I intended to ask you; whether your thoughts do not continually run into the form of prayer, and how you feel during the time and afterwards. I often tell people, both the sick and the well, that they ought to be much in prayer, and that they ought to be delighted with it; they agree with me, perhaps, about the duty, but doubt about the delight of it. They may be comforted too with praying, as with the performance of any other duty; but delight in it is another thing. Tell me, therefore, if you please, my good old friend, what is the course of your own experience; you will oblige me greatly.’

“ Her reply to this question began in the most impressive manner; the thought appeared to be, though not quite new to me, yet wonderfully striking and great. ‘If,’ she said, whilst her lips quivered, ‘some being, whom I could not resist, were to say to me, “You shall pray no more,” the shock would lay me flat on the earth; and, if my senses ever returned to me, the horrible sound would still strike upon my ears, and unhinge my mind, and afflict my very soul, till I could bear it no longer.’ Thus far she went, and then her feeling stopped her utterance. I was myself almost lost in admiration; but, to help her, I said, ‘It is very true; you have put the matter in the most convincing light. There are multitudes of men who take no delight in prayer; there are many who neglect it without any sensible pain; but tell them that they shall pray no more, and, I am sure, amazement and dismay would seize upon them. They who neglect it most probably intend, some time or other, to have recourse to it, as their final resource. But, when a final resource is suddenly and unexpectedly cut off, nothing remains but flat despair. This is true of everything, but how much more of prayer, which is our main link with heaven.’

“ ‘Aye, Sir,’ she resumed, but still agitated, ‘that is the very thing. He who forbids me to pray, would break the link and separate me from heaven. It would be the same as to say, “You shall have no more communion with God; you shall never lift up your hands to him again; you shall converse with him no more; you shall live, whilst you live, as if there were no God—no providence, no eye of wisdom or goodness, watching over you.” At once, Sir, all peace and comfort would desert me, and be strangers to my breast thenceforth for ever. I should be desolate indeed. All would be a wide waste around me. I should be

doubly blind; both body and soul would be destitute of a single ray of light.

"She stopped again from feeling and energy, not for want of ideas or words. She was prolific and eloquent in the description of her own probable forlorn state without prayer; and this was an abundant proof in how great a degree prayer was the habit, the support, the consolation, the delight of her existence."—pp. 202—204.

"The Catechumens" or "Confirmation," is an account of the proceedings of a sound and diligent Parish Priest before the administration of that rite by the Bishop to the young among his Flock.* And here again, in the outset, Dr. Warton paints from the life. Every one who has been engaged in a similar task must have painfully observed the strong contrast exhibited on such an occasion between the two sexes.

"The difference, indeed, between *them* (girls) and boys was striking enough; whether it were, that the mistresses of schools took more pains with their pupils than the masters did, both in respect to religion and in the great points of behaviour: or, which is very probable, that there is something in the female nature, disposing it to a more cordial reception, and a more tender and lively feeling of religious truth, as well as to every external order and decency of life. Be this, however, as it may; the young ladies always appeared to be fearfully and tremblingly alive to their situation, and they were soon affected even to tears; whilst at the same time there was a simplicity and modesty about them, and a proper respectfulness towards *me* which were extremely pleasing, and could not but engage my regard and esteem. The boys, on the other hand, with exceptions, no doubt, were too often bold and confident, though with less knowledge; they were very little awed by my presence, until they had compelled me to rebuke them with severity; they came, apparently, without any due sense of what they were about to undertake; it was in their eye, most probably, a mere form, without any useful end in view, to which it was necessary, however, by the constitutions of the church, that all indiscriminately should submit: the only thing, therefore, that seemed to keep them in any tolerable degree of order was, the danger of a rejection, and a fear of the shame that would follow it; yet they brought so much levity with them, that the slightest mistake of one of their companions in answering a question, produced a titter immediately, or even a downright laugh, throughout the whole band."—pp. 217, 218.

No more salutary correction of this petulant and unbecoming spirit can be furnished than that which Dr. Warton has provided in his address and exhortation. Grievous indeed is it to state the result which presents itself to his ripe judgment and full experience. "I was not often very sanguine in thinking that I had

* We take this opportunity of mentioning an admirable little Catechism preparatory to Confirmation, recently published at Warrington by the Rev. Charles Dodgson, Incumbent of Daresbury in Cheshire. It deserves to be far more widely circulated than it is likely to be as issuing from a remote Provincial Press.

done them any permanent good. For the present at least they were abashed and awed into decency and propriety."—Is the fault in the nature of the male animal, or in the received system of training him?

The second portion of this Chapter relates to sundry cases of conscience, as that of the aged woman who had never yet been confirmed, and who, being a fit recipient, was unhesitatingly presented with a certificate;—of an equally aged and no less worthy man, who wished for a second Confirmation, because "the first had been done so long ago;" and who was easily convinced that his request was unnecessary;—of a respectable upper servant, who had grown grey in his master's service, and had obtained deserved confidence by his integrity; one only omission disturbed his employer; that he never received the Sacrament; and on his pleading that he had not been confirmed, an interview with Dr. Warton was appointed. Mr. Hill, the Catechumen, perceived after a very few words the necessity under which every Christian man lies of obeying his Saviour's commands by partaking of His body and blood.—But he was most anxious to escape previous Confirmation. "It will be a strange sight, Sir," he said, "to see a man of my age going to be confirmed with a multitude of children! All eyes will be upon me. I shall be quite ashamed I am certain. They will point at me and ridicule me without doubt. I should take it as a great favour, Sir, if you could excuse me!" Dr. Warton first shewed him in reply that the power of excuse was not vested in a Clergyman's hands; and then gently but with firmness rebutted his scruples. The good man left him with a conviction that whatever remarks might be offered upon his appearance at the altar must redound to his honour instead of exposing him to scorn and contempt.

Two or three other cases which would suffer irreparable injury by abridgment, lead us to that of Mr., Mrs. and Miss Wynne which is plainly the writer's favourite. The father and mother are altogether worldly; bringing their daughter to be confirmed, because it is a form which custom has established, and because nobody's daughters come fully out into the world until they have submitted to it. At the same time they trust that Dr. Warton, whom they know "not to be a Methodist," will not frighten Emily by making too much of the matter. Dr. Warton, however, in spite of these admonitions, frankly and fearlessly represents the importance of the rite to the young Lady, who, fortunately for herself, had received, from an excellent Governess, those lessons of early Piety which her Parents were neither able nor willing to bestow. The conversation soon becomes general, and one by one the sophistical arguments, arising out of custom and necessity, by

which Mr. and Mrs. Wynne endeavour to palliate faulty practice, are overthrown and abandoned. The following may be accepted as a specimen of the line of argument adopted. The point in discussion is the employment of Sundays in high life.

“ ‘ *We* have come to church, ever since we have been here, with the greatest regularity,’ exclaimed Mrs. Wynne in triumph; ‘ I hope that pleases you, Dr. Warton.’ ‘ It pleases me very much,’ I replied, ‘ and is also generally useful in the parish. But, I am sorry to observe that we are making this question too personal, so as to increase the apparent harshness and severity which you lay to my charge.’ ‘ Never mind,’ she said, fancying herself, no doubt, unassailable; ‘ never mind, Dr. Warton, our own case concerns us most; and you have full liberty from *me* to go to the bottom of it.’ ‘ First, then,’ I resumed, ‘ it must be mentioned, that I have never seen you at church in the afternoon.’ ‘ It would be highly inconvenient to us to come in the afternoon,’ she replied, not quite so confidently. ‘ We *contrive* to come always in the morning, be it convenient or inconvenient to us; but we cannot *contrive* it in the afternoon.’ My look showed that I was not satisfied; so she continued. ‘ People *will* call upon us, Dr. Warton; and sometimes we are *compelled* to go out ourselves to call upon our friends.’ ‘ *Compelled* is a strong word, my dear Madam,’ I said sardonically; ‘ you surely do not mean that any positive violence is used, either to make you receive some, or visit others.’ ‘ It would be rude,’ she replied, ‘ to deny ourselves to visitors, or to send them away in a hurry; and, if we would keep up our acquaintance, we *must* visit *them* in return.’ ‘ On Sundays, my dear Madam?’ I said: ‘ Are there not six days for civilities, and one for religion?’ ‘ We *cannot* spend every moment of it in religion;’ she answered rather petulantly; being pressed, no doubt, by the argument. ‘ Alas!’ I said, mournfully, ‘ we *will* not. But see, we slide back to the same fallacy, that our acquaintance must be kept up; that we cannot refuse to receive visitors without rudeness; that we cannot dismiss them in time to go to church; all which means, that we must live as the world lives. The question is, whether the world is in the right, and we can only justify ourselves by appealing to the practice of the world. This is all in a circle; the reasoning is palpably bad. Scripture says, “ Be not conformed to this world;” but we think all wrong that is not in conformity with it. If we cannot deny ourselves so far as to come to church on a Sunday afternoon, how little likely are we to assume courage enough to pluck out an eye, or cut off an arm! But this self-denial is the very essence of the Christian character, and there is no hope without it. Yet none of your men of the world ever think of it. Their only maxim is self-indulgence. Were you to talk to them of taking up the cross, would they not cover you with ridicule? Yet, unless they do it, they are lost. Let them show me where it is written, that the pleasing and being pleased is the sole object for which God sent us here, and the only road to heaven.’

“ I spoke this with great earnestness, and then paused; but they were quite mute. So I summed up the investigation of the fashionable mode

of passing the Lord's day thus:—' If there were nothing else to condemn the world before God, this is more than enough to condemn it,—that they profane his own day, which he has commanded us all to hallow. Not only do they not frequent the divine ordinances of the day as much as they might, (by which voluntary neglect they put themselves out of the way of numberless opportunities of receiving divine grace, and being advanced in Christian holiness,) but they absolutely profane the day; at least, 'bating the morning-service, they spend that day very much as they do any other. They dine abroad; they give great dinners at home; they seek the throng of company in the public drives, with the whole pomp of their equipage, whilst the sun is up; and when he is down, some fashionable lady holds an assembly at her house, where it is their glory to be seen. The whole establishment, even the servants and the horses, all break the Sabbath; but these by compulsion. The master and mistress are guilty for all, because they act by their own free will.' "

—pp. 344—347.

Mr. King, the Hero of the concluding Chapter on Sectarianism, is a gentleman of independent property acquired in business. His habit was to attend the morning service in his Parish Church, to remain at home in the afternoon, and in the evening to resort to a Dissenting Chapel. Latterly, in consequence of a course of sermons on the moral duties preached by one of Dr. Warton's Curates in the *afternoon*, this more than questionable Churchman had absented himself even from the morning service, and his so doing occasioned the conversations which Dr. Warton here recounts. In the outset the Doctor takes pains to correct the false and vulgar notion which his antagonist (as it may be convenient to term him) had imbibed at the Sectarian founts, of the comparative superiority of preaching to praying. He then turns to matters of doctrine, reasoning with him out of the Scriptures, explaining what is meant by imputed righteousness, and showing how a free gift, free so far as the giver is concerned, may still have conditions annexed to it on the part of the recipient. The whole Dialogue is a fine specimen of the Aristotelic method of argument applied to Christianity; and Mr. King, whether he replies or is silent, is led almost insensibly, by a series of nicely graduated questions, to the very brink of a precipice, over which his opinions are ultimately cast headlong.

This discussion nevertheless brought Mr. King to Church, but it was only for a short season; he was *preached out again* on his very first re-appearance by a Sermon from Dr. Warton himself in support of Universal Redemption. The second scene in which he is introduced is an attempt to establish a Bible Association in Dr. Warton's Parish. His coadjutors are a neighbour, Mr. Harris, of principles resembling his own, and a Mr. Barker, an enthusiast *belonging to an adjoining Parish*, but always ready to

proffer his service as an ubiquitous Chairman, Orator, or President. We must be copious in our extracts; for never was any conversation more dramatically portrayed, never was any course of argument conducted with greater skill to a more triumphant issue than that at which Dr. Warton arrives.

“ My visitors being all seated, Mr. King opened their business. ‘ We thought it a matter of respect and duty, Sir, to wait upon you about a branch Bible Society, which is much wanted in this, and the surrounding parishes; and this gentleman, Mr. Barker, who has had a great deal to do with business of that sort, has been so kind as to accompany us.’ ‘ I am glad to see you, Mr. Barker,’ I said immediately; ‘ but I am ashamed to confess, that I was quite ignorant that any person of your name resided in our parish.’ ‘ I am not a resident here, Sir,’ he replied, ‘ and it is therefore no wonder that my name is not familiar to you.’ ‘ Upon my word then, Mr. Barker,’ I exclaimed, ‘ I must tell you candidly, that I am not a little surprised, (and I showed my surprise in my countenance,) that you should come into a parish, with which you have no connexion, to talk with the rector of that parish about the distribution of Bibles amongst his own poor. And I am surprised at *you* also, gentlemen, that you should bring a perfect stranger to me upon an affair of that kind; you know very well that I have not desired such assistance; for, in fact, I do not want any. But, if I wanted assistance ever so much, I should never have thought of going out of my own parish for it. I have no wish to offend you Mr. Barker; but does it not strike you in an instant, that there is an apparent want of propriety, and decency too (if you will excuse me) in the step which you have taken?’ ‘ It may seem so to you, Sir,’ he replied, ‘ and to the world; but the thing is too important to admit of entering into minute and trifling circumstances of etiquette. As the spread of the Bible should overleap all boundaries, but those of the world itself, so it swallows up every other consideration, which must needs appear in the comparison, mean and little. Mr. King, however, will explain to you, Sir, the immediate cause of *my* share in the present undertaking.’

“ Upon this I turned from Mr. Barker to Mr. King, and said, ‘ Mr. King, how is this?’ ‘ Why, Sir,’ he answered, ‘ myself and Mr. Harris here, have been round the parish to every gentleman of property and respectability in it; and there was not one, who did not decline to preside at the intended meeting; so, Sir, we were compelled to look elsewhere.’ ‘ Did the gentry of this parish,’ I asked, ‘ merely decline the presidency, or refuse altogether to have anything to do with your projected society?’ Mr. King and Mr. Harris eyed each other askance, and after a short silence Mr. Harris confessed that they objected to the thing altogether. ‘ And did they assign any reason, Mr. Harris?’ I asked again; ‘ you, I know, will be fair and open enough to tell me if they did; and also, what the reason was.’ This appeal to his candour produced the effect expected from it; he replied immediately, ‘ I must confess, Sir, again, that they appeared to be unanimous in saying that the application ought to have come from the rector; and some added,

besides, the conviction which they felt, that if the rector had considered such a society to be necessary, he would have established it, or proposed it long ago.' 'Thank you, Mr. Harris,' I said; 'thank you for informing me of this fact so readily, and without any tergiversation; but then I am astonished at two things; first, that you should have begun at the wrong end; and secondly, that you should be still proceeding in this affair, when you have ascertained the sense of the respectable part of the parish, in point of wealth and the disposition to do good, to be entirely against you.' 'If *you* would take the lead, Sir,' he answered, 'we have no doubt that many will join us of those who have for the present refused; and we should have come to you, Sir, in the first instance, with the greatest satisfaction, if we had not had the very strongest reasons, as we thought, for supposing that you would scout our proposals at once.' 'Then pray, let me ask,' I said, 'what has procured me the honour of this visit now?'

"A silence ensued,—Mr. Harris and Mr. King were very reluctant to let out any more secrets; so Mr. Barker being more inured to the artifices of Bible Society transactions, and spurred on by a zeal not to be daunted by any fear of being accused of disregarding the civilities of life, took up the conversation, and said, 'We are come here, Sir, in consequence of an interview which we have had with the bishop of the diocese. These gentlemen, whose conduct is so praiseworthy in endeavouring to bring the pure word of life, without note or comment, into the cottages of the poor, not having found, as they have told you, a single person here, of authority, to promote and organize so Christian a work, applied to *me*, although of little ability for so great an undertaking; and I have obeyed the invitation, trusting in a mightier strength than my own. But first, Sir, as the bishop has some property in your parish, and happened to be in the neighbouring town, we waited upon him, at *my* suggestion, and proposed to him the glory of patronizing the sacred cause so becoming his episcopal cloth.'"—pp. 407—410.

The Bishop, however, was equally impregnable with the Laity. He—

"did not see the glorious career that was before him. He entrenched himself, Sir, within little petty forms and ceremonies, when the question concerned the universal diffusion of the Word of God. He asked us whether we came to him with *your* authority; and when he found that we did not, he declined listening to any of our arguments; pleaded urgent business, and sent us away."—p. 412.

Dr. Warton's next inquiry is as to the necessity or expediency of establishing a Bible Society in his Parish.

" '*Here*, Sir,' replied Mr. Barker,—'not to dwell upon the grand and godlike object of the parent-society, which is to preach the Gospel in all the languages of the world, and to turn men from gross darkness to a marvellous light,—*here* is an exact account, Sir, of the state of your parish with respect to Bibles.' I took it into my hands, and whilst I was glancing my eye over it, I inquired how it was obtained. 'It was

obtained, Sir,' he answered, ' by sending trusty persons to every house, to investigate the matter with the closest and utmost possible accuracy.' ' So then, Mr. Barker,' I said, ' *you*, a gentleman not belonging to *us* in any way, have sent persons into *our* parish to act the part of inquisitors in every private family; and these inquisitors have furnished you with a report, whether true or false you cannot know, but of course you will call it accurate; and on this report, stating a great lack of Bibles, you ground your pretence for a still further interference with us. Well, Sir, this is undoubtedly a most extraordinary transaction; I will not venture to call it by its proper name, as I feel it. And pray, did you direct your inquisitors to tell the poor people, that their spiritual interests and the welfare of their souls being entirely neglected by their natural guardians, the bishop of the diocese and the resident ministers and gentry, you had beheld with compassion, from a neighbouring parish, their forlorn and destitute condition, and had stepped in to relieve it with an unparalleled generosity and charity?' "

This *accurate* list, however, was proved to be full of errors—and Dr. Warton then explains *his* mode of distributing Bibles. They were neither hawked about, nor forced upon the profligate by whom they would be immediately transferred to the pawnbrokers; but each of the 400 children who stayed long enough in the National School to be able to read with tolerable ease, carried a Bible into its family. Every poor person who required a Bible and gave proof of being disposed to read and to profit by it, was sure of receiving the desired Book. Ostentatious expedition was carefully shunned, and the utility worked by the gift was not at all measured by the numbers given. Mr. Barker thus vanquished as to the point of local expediency was compelled to change his ground, and to maintain himself upon more general principles.

" ' Be there or be there not, Sir, any necessity for a Bible Association here, which I will not dispute any further with you, I am confident of this, that every parish in the realm ought, as a matter of bounden duty, to furnish their contingent, whether great or small, but great if their means admit of it, to the magnificent spiritual work which is contemplated by the parent institution. And as for myself, Sir, though a non-resident, I feel myself so imperiously called to contribute what little ability I may have to the furtherance of this work in your parish, that all consideration of human opinions to the contrary must be totally set aside; a call, Sir, which applies to every other parish as well as to this, provided it be within the scope of my bodily powers.' ' Oh! Sir,' I said, ' if you have a *call*, there is no contending with you; and I shall cease to wonder at anything which you may do. But I must confess that, in my own case, if I were prompted by a supposed *call* to do a thing which the world might consider to be a violation of decorum, I should begin to suspect the *reality* of the call; or, in other words, to doubt the validity of the principles upon which I was about to act. You will find this, Sir, if you try it, to be a great and most excellent maxim for the regulation

of human conduct. History will tell you, Sir, what has happened in the world in consequence of the neglect of this maxim. Hurried onward by an imperious *call*, which disregarded persons, seasons, and things, men have rushed into the most enormous crimes. I am sorry, Sir, to have heard you use that expression. If you are under the influence of a *call*, you are beyond the reach of any reasons and arguments which I at least can produce. This smacks indeed, I *must* say, of the conventicle; and I can now readily account for your zeal in the pursuit of measures which are hostile to the Church."—pp. 419—421.

The charge of hostility to the Church was denied with vehemence:—

" 'We have all but one object; to unite in this glorious cause, forgetful of every private difference, and to give the right hand of fellowship to each other, Tory and Whig, churchman and dissenter, making one grand combined effort for the salvation of mankind from pole to pole. This is the beauty, this is the perfection of the plan,—that it places men of the most opposite principles by the side of each other, and inspires them with the true Christian spirit of union and harmony, amity and love.'

" Upon this effusion of Mr. Barker's they all raised their sunken crests, and applauded the sentiment, and re-echoed it again and again: I coolly inquired, if it were, indeed, their practice, in pursuance of this object, to join heart and hand with men of every denomination? 'Yes,' said Mr. King; 'it has been well and truly said by Mr. Barker, that it is one great excellence of the Bible Society to bring men of all denominations together, and to soften down their asperities with respect to each other.' 'So then,' I rejoined, 'you would be glad to see even Atheists and Infidels amongst you; for this liberal latitudinarian principle excludes none, I presume.' 'Let them come, Sir,' said Mr. Barker; 'and we will make Christians of them in the end.' 'How, Mr. Barker?' I inquired; 'Do the forms of doing business in your committees admit of a statement of the proofs of the being of a God, or of the evidences of revealed religion, for the benefit of your unconverted colleagues? If they did, I should think that Atheists and Infidels would keep aloof from you. But it is notorious, that many of that description are active supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Do they come, think you, with the hope of being converted, or with what view?'

" Here they all hesitated to answer; but at length they agreed, that, whatever the views of those people might be, their assistance was not to be refused, and their money might be turned to a good account. 'But, as to the *fact*,' I inquired again, 'do you find that now and then an Atheist, or an Infidel, is actually and imperceptibly, as it were, Christianised, by sitting at the same board with you, or by the routine intercourse of your society?' Mr. Harris confessed, that as yet he knew of no instance of the kind. 'Then,' I said, '*your* assertion, Mr. Barker, that you would make Christians of them in the end, is likely to be but of remote accomplishment; or rather it was the mere ebullition of your own sanguine temper; or perhaps a third conjecture might be formed, namely, that it is your excuse for uniting with Atheists and Infidels in

an affair of religion, which cannot but lose somewhat of its sanctity, when such unholy people meddle in it. But let us now put the question in another view. I ask you, whether a Christian ought to abhor Atheism and Infidelity? He could not deny it. 'I ask you again, whether he ought to feel complacently towards the professors of such tenets, whom all the wise and the good, since the Christian era, have declared to be unfit for human society itself? Of Atheism, indeed, every age has pronounced its reprobation, both ancient and modern.' He was staggered, and remained silent. 'I infer,' I said, 'from your silence, that he ought not; indeed such a feeling would be an evident sign of a lamentable laxity of religious principles in himself. I ask then, thirdly, whether it be a desirable effect, which you state to be the result of Bible Society meetings, that they bring persons of all denominations together, and soften down the asperities of each towards the other? Is it desirable, that our horror of Atheism and Infidelity should be diminished; which can scarcely fail of being the case, if we give the right hand of fellowship to those who profess them? Remember that action and reaction are reciprocal and equal; and that it would be idle to argue, that you expect Atheists and Infidels to change their opinions with respect to *you*, by associating with you, whilst your own opinions and feelings undergo no change by *your* associating with *them*.'—pp. 425—428.

After all, the proposed meeting took place in a barn, lent by a new comer; and the carpenter's bill for fitting up, not having been covered by the subscription, was defrayed by the Parent Society, which nevertheless failed in its object.

We regret that want of space prevents us from continuing our extracts from the remainder of this highly valuable Chapter. Every conversation in it demands close attention, and there is scarcely a strong-hold of Sectarianism which is not in some part of it assailed and demolished. We must content ourselves, however, with a single passage. Mr. King changed his residence for a distant part of the Kingdom, and an accidental interview, after his removal, gave Dr. Warton an opportunity of expressing himself respecting a somewhat prevalent error.

"When he was seated, I inquired first about various circumstances relating to the town, in which he had set up his staff, and then about the officiating minister of his parish. 'Aye, Sir,' he exclaimed, 'there you may see a fine example indeed! Never did anybody so properly encourage peace and harmony as he does. Why, Sir, he gives the right hand of fellowship to all, just as much as I would do: every day almost he may be seen walking arm in arm with one or another of the ministers of the several chapels.' 'Indeed!' I said, but not with surprise; for it was no novelty to me to hear of this species of *liberality* amongst the regular clergy, although it is surprising enough that they themselves should so far forget their stations and duties. This is not one of the least evils which Bible Societies and Missionary Societies have entailed

upon our order. ‘And you admire him for this, it seems,’ I continued. ‘I do,’ he replied decisively; ‘he deserves it.’ ‘Then you would not have admired St. Paul,’ I said. At this he began to muse; so I went on. ‘You know, I presume, that St. Paul’s conduct was totally different.’ Now, no doubt, there flashed upon his memory some of the strong expressions and terrible wishes, which St. Paul uttered against his adversaries, and all who troubled the Church by the introduction of doctrines differing from his own. He was evidently staggered; but at length collecting himself, he said, ‘St. Paul was in the Spirit, Sir, and knew the truth. Our minister claims no such infallibility.’ ‘But are you aware,’ I asked, ‘that when he was ordained to his ministry, he embraced the doctrines of the Church of England as true, and pledged himself to maintain the truth of them against all others; and, in short, to do his utmost to expel all others from amongst the flock entrusted to his charge?’ ‘I have never read the ordination service, Sir,’ he answered, not a little disturbed. ‘But your curate has,’ I said coolly, ‘although he appears to have forgotten it. However, you shall see what it is yourself this moment, that when you return you may be able to remind him of it.’

“Mr. King did not seem to know how to take this, and was exceedingly confused. Meanwhile, I reached a prayer-book from my shelf, which contained the ordination service, and pointed out to him the following passages. In the house and more immediate presence of God himself, the bishop addresses the persons about to be ordained, most solemnly and most awfully, thus: ‘Consider with yourselves,’ he saith, ‘the end of your ministry towards the children of God, towards the spouse and body of Christ, and see that you never cease your labour, your care, and diligence, until you have done all that lieth in you, according to your bounden duty, to bring all such as are committed to your charge, unto that *agreement* in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that there be no place left among you either for error in religion, or for viciousness in life.’ Afterwards, to bind them the more firmly by their own asseveration in the audience of the people, he questions them thus: ‘Will you be ready, with all faithful diligence, to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, contrary to God’s word, and to use both public and private monitions and exhortations, as well to the sick as to the whole, within your cures, as need shall require, and occasion shall be given?’ To which each candidate answers, ‘I will, the Lord being my helper.’

“Next I showed him the references in the margin to St. Paul’s striking charges to Timothy and Titus, and to the elders of the church of Ephesus; in one of which, all who, after their own lusts, heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears, are so terribly condemned. Then I read an extract from a note of Dean Comber’s at the bottom of the page, in which he truly says, that this declaration of the candidates is as sacred as an oath; that if they do not intend to keep it, they lie not to men, but to God; and that if they be negligent to keep it, it is equal to perjury.

“Mr. King was now astounded and speechless, nor did he recover himself during the pause which ensued, whilst I replaced my Bible and prayer-book on the shelf. So I resumed thus: ‘When living here, Mr. King, you were compelled, I think, to resort to a neighbouring parish for something agreeable to your taste in religion, on account of the wonderful agreement and unanimity amongst the rest of us to abide by the faith of the Church. But where you are now settled, I imagine, there is so little of agreement and unanimity, and so much of variety and diversity, that the most perverse lust or appetite may find enough in some corner or other to gratify it. Now, I ask you seriously, Mr. King, whether this is a state of things to be desired? I ask you seriously, whether, on the very contrary, it is not directly and totally at variance with all the notions of Christ’s Church inculcated upon us in Scripture; and whether it does not, to the disgrace of Protestants, furnish a strong handle to the Papists, whose religion you abhor so much, for casting in our teeth the mischiefs which have ensued since the barriers of popedom were broken down? But I have another thing to ask you seriously also,—whether you do not now see, as if it were written with a sunbeam, how much the conduct of your new minister, and of others like himself, tends to produce these fatal consequences?—how much, instead of banishing strange opinions and erroneous doctrines, he actually encourages them in direct violation of his vow?—how much, in short, by appearing to countenance the ministers and professors of all opinions and doctrines alike, he builds up a Babel of heterodoxy, instead of a united and orthodox, a sound, pure, and apostolical Church? Answer me this, Mr. King.’”—pp. 531—535.

In parting, we must repeat our eager and anxious hope that Dr. Warton’s papers may still furnish numerous successors to this most important volume. It cannot be but that he must have thought profoundly, and we trust that he has also written largely, on many Ecclesiastical subjects; and his charitable views of general Religion—his uncompromising assertion of our own peculiar discipline and polity—his matured experience of practical sacerdotal duties—his heartfelt, but well-regulated piety, and his nervous simplicity of style, entitle him to a rank not second to that of any Theologian of our day, and to occupy a distinguished place even among the Giants of those days which have long since passed away.

ART. IV.—1. *The Agamemnon of Æschylus, translated from the Greek, illustrated with a Dissertation on Grecian Tragedy.*
By John S. Harford, Esq. D.C.L. F.R.S.

2. *The Agamemnon*, translated by J. Medwin, Esq.

3. *The Prometheus*, by the same.

4. *Chorusses of Sophocles.* London. 1832.

WE joyfully embrace the opportunity afforded us by the publications we have placed at the commencement of this article, to retreat for a brief season from the distracting tumult and the painful realities of the present age, into the sweet and healthful serenity of the Grecian literature. It is consolatory to reflect, that amid all the changes of thought and feeling, by which the last fifty years have been so peculiarly distinguished, the respect for the ancient masters of poetry and art has undergone little, if any, diminution. Rarely have the Antique Burial Grounds been disturbed by an irreverent footstep, or their monuments defaced by the hand of the spoiler. The poets and philosophers of other lands have passed away like the morning shadows; but Æschylus still binds the enchanted memory to the fearful sufferings of Agamemnon and Orestes, and Plato continues to pour over the soul of the meek and faithful-hearted student the golden beauty of his poetical imagination. Kingdoms and dominations have glided away, and the place where they stood remembers them no more; but the poetry, and the philosophy, and the sculpture, and the history of Greece, still abide and shall abide amongst us for ever! and fortunate it is for us and for the community that they are so preserved. We are not blind and infatuated enthusiasts in our admiration, determined to applaud antiquity merely because it is antiquity; we insist upon a diligent study of the ancient models, because we consider their beauty and system and method to be the beauty and system and method of Nature herself. It was with this impression that the illustrious Raphael employed persons to travel through Italy to procure for his inspection the most valuable remains of ancient art. And let it be recollected, that the nature of the Greeks was of a most refined and harmonious character. The elements of their country appear to have imbibed the influence of the celestial Impersonations by which it was supposed to be inhabited. The extraordinary effects produced by climate upon the habits and sentiments, no less than the physical powers of man, have been often observed. The southern parts of Italy are said by Winckelman to produce men of a more majestic stature than the northern and western districts. The celebrated Herder, in his *Philosophy of Man*, has very ably com-

mented upon this subject. The mental organization is in a great measure accordant with the bodily. If we look, for instance, at the inhabitants of the most northern countries, we discover a singular coolness of feeling, and an almost total absence of passion. Every thing with them is a dull unchangeable reality. They have no visions of beauty, no dreams of unattained excellence, no desires of enjoyment, except of a purely sensual description. But in proportion as the temperature becomes milder, the corporeal and mental form increase in beauty, until they expand into perfect symmetry. When we advance into Lapland, for example, we find the stolid, unmeaning rotundity of the features diminished. The cheeks are lengthened, and the eye assumes a darker and more expressive colour. But if we journey on into the kingdom of Cashmere, the very aspect of humanity seems to be altered. We are carried, as it were, out of a miserable village of mud cottages and wretched peasants into an Eden of enchantment. The men are noble, the women are models of loveliness; their ears are attuned to the combinations of sweet sounds; their delicate hands to the formation of the most elegant works; a gentle temperance of feeling diffuses a calm beauty over their countenances. It was from among these heights of Asia, says the German philosopher, that the tree of beauty was gradually carried into Greece, beneath whose kind and fruitful sky it flourished in perpetual verdure. Lord Bacon has remarked in his *De Augment. Scient.* that climate operates rather on masses than individuals; that it does not force, but incline. It is the balmy atmosphere nourishing the human plant, and cherishing life and warmth in every part. Pauw has speculated very ingeniously upon the peculiar effects of the enlarged state of the optic nerve among the Greeks generally. It is, we believe, a fact physically certain, that no people of this day have the orbit of the eye equally widened. With how much justice the surpassing excellence of the Grecian designs may be attributed to this faculty, we do not pretend to determine. An acuteness of organ scarcely credible is possessed, we know, by some of the oriental tribes: the Calmuc traces smoke when perfectly imperceptible to the straining eyes of the European, and the Arab hears sounds when to one less gifted the silent solitude of the desert is unbroken. We may believe that the balm and serenity of the Grecian clime were transfused into her literature.

We sit down to the perusal of a Grecian tragedy with a solemnity and silence of the mind. We endeavour to lull to sleep for a season all the memories of the world which surrounds us, and to address ourselves in all humbleness and teachableness to the noble instruction before us. A student of the ancient literature

without enthusiasm is like a dead man among the living. The eloquent Winckelman in the ardour of his imagination conceived himself to be transported into the midst of the Olympian Stadium, among the athletes and the chariots; he beheld the triumphant procession; he heard the echoing shout of victory. So it will always be with the genuine critic; he will study the dramas of Sophocles and the dreams of Plato with eyes which paint in the brightest colours every scene to his fancy. When he reads the *Œdipus* the air he breathes will be laden with the perfume of the violets in *Colonos*, and the familiar sounds around his home will be sweetened with the songs of the nightingales in the poet's birth-place.* The reasonings of Plato will bring before him the garden where that divinest of earthly philosophers imparted the phantasies of his mind to the enraptured disciples, and the name of the Parthenon will recall to his memory all that is glorious in art or magnificent in conception.

The first attempt to introduce a Greek play upon the English stage was made by George Gascoigne and Francis Kinwelmarsh, in their translation, or more properly speaking, adaptation, of the *Jocasta* from the *Phænissæ* of Euripides. The interest of their labour will be increased, if we recollect that the *Jocasta* was the second dramatic performance in the language. A classical taste became very general soon after the accession of Elizabeth. The version of the *Andria* of Terence had been printed about thirty years before the commencement of her reign, and was followed at intervals by a series of translations from the same poet, the majority of which were published separately between the years 1559 and 1566. They were written for the most part in fourteen syllable Alexandrines, with the exception of the chorusses, in which metres are indiscriminately mingled. One of the earliest plays, the *Hercules Furens*, was dedicated to one of the most munificent patrons of learning in those days, William Earl of Pembroke.

The merits of the *Jocasta*, considering the season of its production, are by no means contemptible. The scene in which the blind and exiled *Œdipus* is led from the city by the affectionate Antigone, is, we think, very pathetically given. Warton objects with some justice to the unnecessary and weakening circumlocution employed to represent the terse and energetic brevity of the original. But surely the *snip-snap* style (as it has been happily called) of subsequent translators has not prejudiced us in favour of a line for line rendering. It was, however, by no means an

* It is scarcely necessary to say that we allude to the splendid description of *Colonos* in the *Œdipus at Colonos*.

uncommon boast of the earlier translators, that their version was comprised in exactly the same number of lines as the original.

Gascoigne and his associate appear to have arbitrarily omitted some of the beautiful choral songs of the original, and to have substituted compositions of their own. An extract from one of these interpolated poems may not be unpleasing, since, independent of its intrinsic merit, it furnishes a curious example of the harmony which characterized the works of that early season of the English drama.*

“ O blissful Concord, bred in sacred breast
Of Him that guides the restless rolling sky,
That to the earth, for man’s assured rest,
From light of heaven vouchsafest down to fly,
In thee alone the mighty power doth lie
With sweet accord to keep the frowning stars,
And every planet else, from hurtful wars!

“ In thee, in thee, such noble virtue bydes
As may command the mightiest gods to bend;
From thee alone such sugred friendship slydes,
As mortal wightes can scarcely comprehend—
To greatest strife thou set’st delightful end:
O Holy Peace, by thee are only found
The passing joys that every where abound.

“ When, born of time, returns the lusty Ver,
By thee alone the buds and blossoms spring;
The fields with flowers be garnisht every where,
The blooming trees abundant fruit do bring;
The cheerful birds melodiously do sing:
Thou dost appoint the crop of summer’s feed,
For man’s relief to serve the winter’s need.”

We are induced to add one stanza from another part of the Drama, on account of the very beautiful piety and sacred tenderness which it breathes.

“ How fond is that man in his phantasie,
Who thinks that Jove, the master of us all,
And he that tempers all in Heaven on high,
The sun, the moon, the stars celestial,
So that no leaf without his leave can fall,
Hath not in him omnipotence also
To guide and govern all things here below!
O blinded eyes and wretched mortal wights—
O subject slaves to every ill that lights!—
To ’scape such woe, such pain, such shame and scorn,
Happy were he that never had been born!”

In conformity with the spirit and habits of the age, every Act

* We have in most places taken the liberty of adopting the modern orthography.

of the *Jocasta* is introduced by a *Dumme Shew*. The introduction to the first Act commences thus—"And before the beginning of the first act did sound a doleful and strange noise of violles, bandusion, and such like, during the which there came in upon the stage a king with an imperial crown upon his head, being richly appparelled, a sceptre in his right hand, sitting in a chariot very richly furnished, drawn in by foure kings in their doublettes and hosen with crownes also upon their heads." The doublets and hosen are very good, but they are exceeded by the *Dumme Shew* to the fourth act. "Before the beginning of the fourth act the trumpets sounded, the drummes and fifes, and a great peal of ordinance was shot off, in the which there entered upon the stage seven knights." We quote from the early and scarce edition. Among the earliest foreign translators of Greek poetry may be numbered Ludovico Dolce, who was born at Venice in 1508. Tiraboschi has left a portrait of him by no means flattering to the vanity of an author. Ludovico Dolce, says the laborious historian, was orator, grammarian, rhetorician, philosopher, a poet at once tragic and comic, epic, lyric, and satyric, editor, translator, and collector; he wrote in every style and excelled in none. Probably the most singular circumstance in his history is the fact of his having been buried in the same tomb with Ruscelli, a literary man with whom he had, through the greater part of his life, been continually and bitterly quarrelling. No less than seventy works are attributed to him, among others the tragedies of *Medea*, *Didone*, *Itigenia*, *Agamemnone*, *Thieste*, *Hecuba*, and *Mariana*.

Italy indeed has been more than ordinarily prodigal in translations from Euripides. We have now before us three separate versions of the *Cyclops*, a work which possesses certainly far less poetical interest than almost any other production of the author. The first by Antonio Maria Salvini was published in 1728, the second by Girolamo Zanetti in 1749, and the third by Francesco Angiolini in 1782. We cannot resist the temptation of saying a few words upon Salvini, one of the dullest and most laborious *litterateurs* of any age or country. He was born at Florence in 1653, and applied himself with so much ardour to philological studies, particularly Greek and Latin, that at the early age of twenty-three he was named professor of Greek. He now took upon himself the difficult duties of translator, an occupation which he never afterwards relinquished. Salvini partook in the opinion, at that period and even now by no means uncommon among the learned, that nothing is wanting to form a translator but a knowledge of the original language, and certainly he rarely makes use of any other qualification. He almost always presents

us with the wrong side of the tapestry, and when he does give the picture correctly to our eyes, it is generally cold and lifeless, destitute alike of colour and expression. His translations were poured out with amazing rapidity, we cannot undertake to give a catalogue of them, or the dates of their publication, but the following instances may suffice. In 1717 he published the Poems of Theocritus; in 1723, the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, together with the Hymns; in 1726 the Satires of Persius into the *Verso Toscano*. In 1736 *Casaubon on the Satirical Poetry of the Greeks*, and the Cyclops of Euripides; in 1747 Hesiod, and in 1763 Callimachus. We have omitted several classical works, and have not taken any notice of the compositions on other subjects with which the professor varied his labours. In the preface to his *Persius* he alludes to a translation of Virgil which he had in contemplation, but which has never been published. Two copies of it as far as the eighth book are now, we believe, in existence at Florence, and may be procured by any enthusiastic collector.

But it was to Carmeli (another of the numerous band of scholars for which Italy in the eighteenth century was so remarkable) that the Italians are indebted for a complete translation of the Dramas of Euripides including the fragments. Carmeli was professor of theology at Padua, where he died in 1766. His version does not appear from the examination we have made, to deserve the eulogy bestowed upon it in the *Biblioteca* of Paitoni. It is dry and bald without being always literal, and the notes are frequently puerile and unnecessary; as when he gravely assures us that $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega$ is contracted from $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\pi\omega$ and $\xi\mu\omicron\varsigma$ from \acute{o} $\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$. Reiske wrote a very acute and condemnatory criticism upon it in the fiftieth volume of the *Acta Eruditorum* (anno 1748), which called forth a reply from the irritated professor, a notice of which was inserted in the fifty-third volume of the *Acta*.

The attention of the Italian *litterateurs* seems to have been almost entirely confined, (in dramatic poetry we mean) to the plays of Euripides. We do not at this time remember any version of Æschylus, with the exception of the *Prometeo* of Michel Angelo Giacomelli, which was published at Rome in 1754. Giacomelli, who was a native of Pistoia where he was born in 1695, was very early distinguished by his profound theological knowledge; he was moreover an able mathematician and a scholar perfectly conversant with the treasures of ancient and modern literature. His chief employment was the study of eloquence. But his promotion was principally attributable to his translation of St. Chrysostom upon the *Priesthood* (we quote from memory) which so delighted the reigning Pontiff, Clement XIII. that he instantly appointed Giacomelli to the situation of Latin secretary.

The death of his patron blighted his prospects. But amid all his numerous occupations he found time to devote to the classics. Besides the *Prometheus*, he translated the *Electra* of Sophocles which was published in the same year. We are rather inclined to differ from one of Giacomelli's biographers in our estimate of his *Prometeo*. The soft and liquid harmony of the Italian is perhaps more adapted to render the tenderness of Euripides than the bold and magnificent imagery of Æschylus. If the *Prometeo* be wanting in the fire and animation of the Poet, it is nevertheless characterized by the polished correctness of the scholar. Some of the notes we are inclined to think interesting and ingenious. We omitted to mention a version of the *Phænissæ Le Feniciane*, by Zaccaria Vallaresso, a Venetian senator, in 1714.

Among the French translations of Greek plays we shall only mention, as the least known, the *Iphigénie d' Euripide tournée de Grec en François*, by M. Thomas Sibilet, which was printed in Paris in 1549. Sibilet was educated for the Bar, but, unfortunately for himself as well as the interests of poetry, he appears to have devoted a small portion of his time only to the studies of his profession. Upon his return from a tour in Italy he favoured the public with a version of a little tract by an Italian, (Fraschi,) of which the French title is *Manière de bien Embrider les Chevaux*. From a man who could gravely occupy himself with such a task we could not certainly expect to receive a very excellent poem.

His *Iphigénie* was published anonymously, a circumstance which distressed Duverdiér, who seriously expresses his fears that the initials T. S. may be mistaken for *Touissaint Sottin* or *Tristan Savetier*, names with which we cannot flatter ourselves that our readers are familiarly acquainted. The *Iphigénie* is written in rhyme, and in various measures; it was intended by the author to contain every species of poetical rhythm, and he always regretted that he had been unable to introduce the *rondeau*! The reader who shall take the trouble to glance into the play will think the company of metres numerous enough already. In some of the chorusses the lines consist of two words, a species of versification employed in modern times by Victor Hugo, who has always been, it may be recollected, among the most enthusiastic revolutionisers of the school of the classicists. A similar mode of rhythm was adopted by Lazarus de Baif in his version of the *Hecuba*, which is said to have been printed by Robert Stephens in 1550.

These desultory remarks have brought us back to the Anglo-Grecian theatre, and the translations before us especially. Potter's Æschylus was the first attempt, and continues to be the only one hitherto made, to produce an entire version of the plays of

Æschylus. With great fluency of diction and considerable harmony and variety of metre, Potter failed, notwithstanding, in retaining the peculiar spirit of the Greek—a failure to be accounted for in part by the imperfect text which he often followed. It would be almost impossible to read a single page in either of his tragedies without discovering one or more errors at least. In the choral hymns, particularly, he often sinks beneath the difficulties of the original. We were surprised to see a contrary opinion expressed in the preface to a volume of *Popular Specimens of the Greek Dramatic Poets*, published in the Family Library. Since the publication of Potter's quartos, several translations of single plays have appeared. Among the versions of the Agamemnon alone, may be enumerated those of Boyd, Symmons, Kennedy, &c. and the recent contributions of Harford and Medwin.

The costly volume of Dr. Harford claims precedence of the modest looking little book (or rather pamphlet) of Mr. Medwin.

Quarles, in his *Enchiridion*, says, speaking of dress, that the body is the husk of the soul, and apparel is the husk of that shell. The husk, he continues, often tells you what the kernel is. He might have added (as probably he did, for we have not the book at hand to consult,) that when the apparel is very splendid the kernel is generally of very little value. The aphorism is not without its application to the book before us. The illustrations from Flaxman's designs are exquisitely antique, and the gems are gems in reality; but we should be wanting in sincerity if we said that we have derived much information from the preliminary dissertation, or any considerable degree of pleasure from the translation itself. We perfectly coincide with Dr. Harford in thinking that happy medium very easily described, but rarely attained, "by which the sense of a classical poet is transfused into another tongue, in a style and manner not only poetical but which recall the original to a critical reader." The fault which we find with Dr. Harford's version is its want of enthusiasm. His thoughts do not breathe, neither do his words burn. He does not seem to have written with a flushed cheek and a glowing eye, as the glorious author himself may be supposed to have done, and hence he is greatly inferior to Symmons, whose Agamemnon, making allowance for the paraphrastic licenses in which it abounds, is among the most perfect translations in the language. Perhaps we shall make ourselves better understood if we say that Dr. Harford appears to us to be an abler scholar than he is a poet. He resembles one who fully appreciates a statue of Canova but is totally unable to copy it. His hand will not second his eye. We, of course, only allude to the Agamemnon of Dr. Harford viewed as a whole; it may,

and undoubtedly does possess passages which do him great credit and are removed from the influence of these remarks. We shall endeavour to select one of these in the course of the present article. Although we cannot hope to be found among that band of eminent scholars to whom Dr. Harford addresses himself in becoming confidence, we hope that we are equally disposed with them to offer a temperate and carefully weighed judgment. A reviewer ought to keep in mind the words of the illustrious Montesquieu—*Je demande une grace, que je crains qu'on ne m'accorde pas ; c'est de ne pas juger par la lecture d'un moment d'un travail de vingt années, d'approuver ou de condamner le livre entier, et non pas quelque phrases.*

Mr. Medwin is altogether a different translator from Dr. Harford. His extensive qualifications for his new office are stated in the following extract from the Preface to the Prometheus.

“ I shall not enumerate,” says Mr. Medwin, “ the different editions I have consulted in the progress of this undertaking. None are implicitly to be trusted : I do not speak of the Prometheus, but of the Agamemnon and the rest—(*what?*) ; nor shall I do more than allude to the correspondence I have long held with a modern Greek and other learned foreigners on the doubtful passages. Besides which, I possessed the advantage of studying these tragedies with two of the most elegant, not to say the best scholars I have ever known—Shelley and Prince Mavrocordato. One thing I still lament, that the Escorial MSS. had not been collated before I begun my imperfect and unworthy labours.”

We may be pardoned for lingering a few moments upon this singular passage. We have no right to complain of the summary manner in which Mr. Medwin dismisses all the editions of the Greek plays, but we must say that our curiosity is excited to learn something of this “ modern Greek and other learned foreigners,” with whom so interesting a correspondence has been maintained. If Mr. Medwin’s friend be a Pythagorean, and so have passed through a series of transmigrations from the time of Aristotle until now, he may perhaps be able to furnish some illustrative commentary upon the poet ; otherwise we much fear that his assistance will prove of little avail. With respect to the Escorial MSS., however much we may regret that they were not collated before Mr. Medwin began his labours, we must confess that our anticipations of their value are not very sanguine. We are told in a note that the MSS. came from the Arabs, and that their history is a singular one. We should be inclined to think so too. We wonder what opinion the inhabitants of the Desert formed of their contents, and whether any marginal notes or glosses have been added. Of Prince Mavrocordato, of whose

classical attainments Mr. Medwin speaks so enthusiastically, we beg with great diffidence to express our ignorance.

Before we proceed to our observations upon the characters of the Dramatic Poets, we will make a remark which has been suggested to us by the translation of the opening lines in the *Agamemnon* and the explanatory note. We allude to the warder's soliloquy, which M. Medwin says, seems to him impossible to be rendered "other than familiarly;" and so by way of accomplishing this desirable simplification of the high-flown language of *Æschylus*, he calls the watchman a *Vidette*, (a name we will venture to affirm never applied to the servant of *Clytemnestra* before,) and talks about the *λαμπροὶ δυνασταὶ* being dazzling *Dynasters*, and of *λαμπτήρ νυκτός* being a *night dancer*, and so on. What the precise meaning of *dynasters* may be we are unable to determine, but we know that the Greek words signify *radiant rulers*, and are in part rendered by Milton when he calls the sun *Regent of day*. Surely M. Medwin does not believe that *λαμπτήρ νυκτός* means a *night dancer*. There is something very poetical and picturesque in the *Bacchanal of night*, by which he renders the Beacon-light; but he should not give it as the version of the Greek.

Æschylus may be said, metaphorically, to be the father of the greater portion of those magnificent creations which peopled the Athenian stage during the period of its prosperity. He led forth the muse of Tragic poetry from the dissolute revelry of a village festivity, and placed her within the charmed circle of his sublime dramas. The theatre was a powerful agent in the administration, and it speedily assumed a high national character, and exerted an extraordinary influence upon the habits and feelings of the people. This assertion is in a measure supported by the large salaries paid to the actors and musicians. *Amœbeus*, a singer in ancient Athens, received an Attic Talent, about 241*l.* for each appearance; and in a Corcyrean inscription 83 minas, or something more than 352*l.*, are stated to have been the pay of three auletæ, three tragic, and three comic actors, for a festivity, besides all the expenses of their maintenance, which were very considerable. The love of dramatic amusements was not confined to Athens alone, but extended into the provinces. We find accordingly that the country engagements of the distinguished actors were very lucrative, so much so that *Aristodemus* is said to have gained a talent in two days, or even in one. This exceeds the *starring* system, as it is called, of the present day, and may be a little startling to those who are wont to dilate upon the immense revenues of actors and singers upon the English stage.

"Out of upwards of seventy tragedies which *Æschylus* composed,"

says Dr. Harford, "seven only have survived the ravages of time, so that our actual means of judging of the extent of his poetical powers are very limited. Among these, however, are some, the Agamemnon, the Seven Chiefs, and the Prometheus, that as long as they exist will never cease to class among the finest productions of human genius. Homer himself has not more strongly individualized his Hector, his Ajax, his Achilles, than Æschylus his Agamemnon, his Clytemnestra, his Prometheus. In pouring forth the ardent emotions of his mind, recital and narrative are often suddenly converted into picturesque delineation or bold personification. Perhaps there is no poet, ancient or modern, Shakespeare and Milton alone excepted, from whose writings more striking instances might be cited of what Horace acutely styles *disjecti membra poetæ*, that is to say, the shreds of sentences so finely expressed as to be themselves poetry. The 'vermilion-tinctured lip,' the 'tresses like the Morn' of Milton, 'the spirit-stirring drum,' the 'eye-train'd bird,' the 'tender leaves of hope,' of Shakespeare, are instances of this description, and may be contrasted with the *μαλθακὸν ὀμματων βελος*, the *Δηξιθυμον ερωτος ανθος*, the *δορυτινακτος αιθηρη επιμαινεται*, of Æschylus."

We are happy to quote this criticism, because we think it generally correct and elegant. With the exception of the Philoctetes and Œdipus of Sophocles, and the Bacchæ of Euripides, we are not aware of many passages purely descriptive of nature in the tragic poets. In the Agamemnon we have a very lively picture of the passing the Fire signal, which was to inform Clytemnestra of the fall of Troy. We are not going to enter into an examination of the geographical question which has been raised as to the possibility of transmitting a signal by fire from Mount Ida to Argos, along the stations enumerated in Æschylus. Both Vossius and Casaubon coincide in a belief of the practicability of the performance. Throughout the whole course of its transmission the fire is never absent from our eyes—we behold it bounding along mountain crags to Lemnos, and flinging its burning shadow upon the waters of Euripus. The Minstrel of the North in his spirited ballad affords the most accurate idea of the Greek poet's picture. But the interest of the scene will be increased when we remember that even in the present day the signal-fires continue to be lighted in the hilly districts of Greece. Chateaubriand alludes to them in his travels. Upon his arrival at the house of an Athenian, a friend of the French ambassador, he hastened to a hill in the neighbourhood of the village in the hope of descriing an Austrian vessel, but without success. In the evening they lighted a fire with myrtle and heather, (the *ερεικη* of Æschylus,) upon the mountain, and stationed a goatherd to inform him without delay of the arrival of the boats from Zea. The use of fire signals seems to have been very generally diffused

through the East and many parts of Europe. We discover frequent allusions to them in the Old Testament. We have met with a passage in Lightfoot's *Temple Service* which illustrates the analogy between the Greek and Hebrew customs. After the Sanhedrim had determined the observation of the new moon, they caused a person to go upon Mount Olivet, "with a bundle of combustible wood and other stuffe, and there he set it on fire, and waved it up and down, this way and that way, and never left until he saw another do so on another hill, and so another on a third, and those that took it from him they waved their blazes up and down till they were answered with the like from another hill, and so the intelligence was quickly dispersed throughout the whole land."—*Lightfoot's Temple Service*, p. 122.

The approach of the Caravans which travel from the Nile to Cosseir on the Red Sea are still announced by fires kindled along the mountains. But our anxiety to illustrate the description of Æschylus has led us away from the contemplation of his character. The story of Bacchus appearing to the poet, and inciting him to the composition of Tragedy is a felicitous illustration of his genius. We behold the flush of wine and the boiling joy of the banquet in his imagery; he seems to have basked in the vineyards, and quaffed the nectar with the god of his inspiration. But wild and passionate as he was, he had a heart open to all the influences of sweet charities. Like the immortal Shakespeare, he could "play with Love" with the tenderness of a child. Upon that book of "iron leaves" which he delighted to display to the terrified spectators, the gleams of a soft and delicate fancy were continually flashing. His portrait of Helen, in the Agamemnon, palpitates with all the voluptuous beauty of Anacreon—every epithet is a picture. But we purpose confining our present remarks to the most simply grand and original of all his surviving tragedies—the Prometheus.

A subject in its nature essentially grand receives an additional sublimity from the simplicity with which it is embodied. Some of the outlines of Michael Angelo convey a more perfect idea of mental greatness than the elaborate compositions of many illustrious painters. The fault of the moderns, as De Staël acutely remarks in her *Corinne*, is that *they say too much*—they leave scarcely anything to the imagination. They are never contented without they put into the hand of the reader the thread which is to guide him out of the mystery in which he wanders. The system of the later dramatists is founded upon the *complication* of the passions, that of the Greeks upon the *unity*. Simplicity of design is indeed the only just canon of sublimity. The harmony which most especially delights us, says Winckelman, is not the deli-

cately linked *ingenuity* of the skilful composer, but the one touching unornamented melody which dies away in pathos upon the heart. This was, undoubtedly, the character of the ancient music, into which, as in the case of their statues, they admitted no violent and melo-dramatic inversions of sober grace. Haydn showed M. Bombet a hymn which he had heard sung at St. Paul's in unison by 4000 children, and this simple and natural air, he added, afforded him greater pleasure than he had ever received from the performance of music.

Now this simplicity is the peculiar characteristic of *Æschylus*, and the one in which his rivals and contemporaries have the least participation.

In the *Prometheus* we are lifted out of the circle of humanity and carried past the bounds of the habitable world into frozen solitudes where the heart faints with fear and wonder. All the sounds of earth and the voices of mortality cease in our ears. We hear nothing, save the wild screaming of the wind among the desolate crags of Mount Caucasus, and the melancholy roar of the ocean beneath. But the very horror of the scene imparts an energy to the soul of the poet. The Titan walks in serene power amid the convulsed elements of nature. We endeavour to escape from the spell which he casts around us, but in vain; we are held in the mighty irresistibility of his grasp; we stand face to face with the immortal impersonations of Strength and Force, the fearful servants of Destiny, beneath whose giant power the vigour of the god-like *Prometheus* is poured out like water. The contemplation gives an unnatural magnitude to our ideas, and we rise by degrees higher and higher until we stand upon a level with the poet's conception. The awful silence which surrounds the human Benefactor when the Tormentors have departed is solemnly sublime. We can almost fancy that the light sound of a leaf driven from the pine trees along the ridges of the mountain, might be distinctly heard! But wild and unearthly as the *Prometheus* is, our sympathies are nevertheless enlisted in behalf of the sufferer. It is for the sake of man that all these horrors are accumulated upon his head; it is for having imparted to mortals the knowledge possessed by the inhabitants of Olympus, that he is nailed to the inclement promontory's side,

Where never sound of human voice, nor form,
Nor face of man shall he perceive, but where
Unsheltered from the burning sun, its flame
Shall change the bloom of beauty."

It is because he stood between man and perdition that all this sickness of heart is fallen upon him, that in the morning he cries

for night, and in the night watches for the morning. His sole crime was pity—pity for the weak and oppressed and those who had none to help them. In the midst of this supernatural generosity and dignity of mind we discover no lurking principle of self-interest. The Prometheus of Æschylus is the martyr of humanity. The image of a mighty and commiserating Being, who should alleviate all the sorrows of the mortal life, is dimly seen amid the thick darkness of the ancient superstitions. It was one of those emanations from the multiform body of Holy Truth, which cast a light along the shadowy paths of the antique mythology. If Prometheus has vindicated the cause of man with the might and energy of which a giant only was capable, he pays the penalty of his deeds in a sorrow and anguish which a giant only could endure. The poet represents him in the appalling attitude of a rebellious creature who has been struck down by the blasting arm of an incensed divinity. The very power of foresight only increases the horror of his torments—he pierces into the caverns of future years, and he sees nothing but pain—unslumbering, undying pain! None but a God can bind those fetters, or gird his limbs with those rings of adamant. At length the ministers of the wrath of Jupiter depart, and then he gives the bitterness of his torture free course. We think that Mr. Medwin has been very successful in preserving the wild and *mocelé* character of the original.

“ Best and divinest air! ye swift winged winds!
 Ye river springs! and ocean billows! ye
 That countless in your multitudes laugh out
 With long loud peals—exulting to be free!
 Earth, universal mother of all life!
 And thou, O Sun, whose eye pierces all nature,
 You I invoke, look on me what I suffer
 From Gods—a God! I call on you, behold
 What infinite agonies I have to bear,
 Infinite ages! witness what vile chains
 This new raised king of the Gods has forged for me.
 Ai. Ai. the present and the coming lot!
 Eternity of agonies! woe for ever!
 What do I say? and was the future hid
 From my fore-knowledge—did I not foresee
 All that should come upon me?—let me then bear,
 As becomes me best, the doom of fate,
 Bowing to the inexorable might
 Of stern necessity. Wretch that I am!
 Where shall I look for fortitude to bear
 In silence, or what solace can I seek
 In telling all I bear?—why am I yoked

With these inevitable ills—alas !
 Was not my gift a blessing to mankind ?
 True, I for them from heaven's own fountain stole
 A spark of fire :—but did not fire give light,
 Teaching all arts to render less the sum
 Of human misery, and enable man
 The better to support the load of being ?
 This is the front of my offence—and now
 What is the sentence I am doomed to meet ?
 Indissoluble chains, and to converse
 With everlasting groans, prison'd beneath
 This dungeon vault of the air—
 Woe, woe for ever !”

Thus does the mighty sufferer pour out the cries of his grief, when on a sudden he hears a sound of some creature approaching in the still air. His mingled fear and wonder are beautifully portrayed.

“ Hush ! hark ! what do I hear ? again !
 What echoes steal along ? what means that sound—
 Whence are those odours sweeter than all sound
 Of voice or instrument, filling every sense—
 Come they from earth or heaven ?
 And what art thou, or God, or man,
 Or creature of the elements, composed
 Of some mixed essence ?—let me question why
 Thou thus dost visit earth's extremest bound.
 What wouldest thou here ? with me—say art thou come
 To look upon my woes, perhaps to insult—
 Behold, whoever thou art, a sight of horror
 Eye never saw ; look if thou darest on me,
 Hated by Jove, and no less hated by
 The inhabitants of heaven, on me a being
 Of an immortal nature, exiled from
 The abodes of immortality, and bound
 For having loved mankind with too much love—
 Bound as you see—this was my only crime.
 Woe's me ! again what onward rustling plumes
 Winnow the yielding air with the quick stroke
 Of alternating pinions ? near ! more near !
 All that approaches now I fear ! I fear !

In the Prometheus the poet breaks all the controlling bonds of the unities in sunder. The monumental grandeur of his drama towers up from amid a region of shadows. To the eye of the French critic we doubt not that it presented the *bizarre* appearance which he ridicules. Voltaire had laughed at the Athenian Stage before him. But the introduction of *Io*, the victim of the same tyranny which has vanquished Prometheus, though

abhorrent from all probability, accords with the nature of the tragedy. She has put off her humanity, but her misery clings to her like a garment. The spectre of Argus is still by her side, as terrible as when that earth-born herdsman was sent to watch her footsteps at the fount of Lerna. Wherever she turns her gaze that fearful apparition starts up into life before her! She petitions Prometheus to instruct her in the events of her future fate, but he hesitates, because he fears to "rack her breast."

The poet, with infinite skill, has put this expression of tenderness in the mouth of Prometheus, in order that we may more intently sympathise with the majesty of his mind. Although wintering in this waste of rocks for the sake of man, he has still an ear open to his complainings, and an affectionate wish to alleviate his sorrows. But we must pass on more rapidly. The vigour of Prometheus increases with his pains: the outward form has been scathed by the lightning, and shaken by the winds of heaven, but the stature of the inner man grows mightier every hour. When Mercury comes, the herald of Jupiter, commissioned to obtain the secret of the fatal and predestined marriage, the sufferer flings back with contempt both his offers of pardon and his threats of vengeance. He folds up the secret in his bosom in the hope of beholding, at no distant day, the storm of ruin come down upon the head of his oppressor. Let the arrows of fire be launched against his unprotected breast—he laughs them to scorn! In the burning arms of the hurricane itself he will preserve his liberty and his hatred. But the end of this dreadful tragedy is drawing nigh. The parley between the god and the sufferer is finished. For a moment there is a silence, and then—it comes—it comes!—the tempest of living fire! The convulsed earth heaves and staggers to and fro; the sky and the ocean are dashed together; the rocks are rent asunder, and darkness descends upon the closing scene of the agony of Prometheus.

The age of Sophocles was the summer of Grecian thought. With the rapidly advancing cultivation of the public mind, the rough and fervid energy of Æschylus began to be harmonized into beauty and tenderness. The muse of Athenian poesy had been dreaming the Mænad dream of a terrible and tempestuous sublimity; the faces of Sophocles and Euripides shone beautifully upon her waking. Æschylus had already built the temple of immortal song, and it remained only to cover it with the "golden Architrave," and flute the pillars into more delicate proportions. If Sophocles yielded to his mighty rival the palm of a bold and daring imagination, he infinitely surpassed him in the sweet and pellucid purity of his fancy, and the graceful arrangement of his

story and its incidents. If we may apply to the drama a phrase more especially adapted to sculpture, we should say, that Sophocles excelled particularly in the harmonic adjustment of the parts to the spirit of the whole. The symmetry of his dramas, to continue the metaphor, will be found to admit of no alteration or change of parts; it would be as impossible to incorporate a portion of the *Œdipus* with the *Philoctetes*, as to join an arm of *Praxiteles' Venus* to the *Minerva* of *Phidias*.

Æschylus aspired after the grand and the magnificent; *Sophocles* worshipped the calm and the beautiful. *Æschylus* was a mighty painter of thoughts, but he manifested his power principally in the masses of light or shade which were swept over his pictures, and in the gigantic outlines by which his figures were indicated. His pencil was dipped either in the thickest darkness or the most delicate light: he rarely condescends to employ the intermediate tints. But *Sophocles* was endowed with the most untiring patience and the most accomplished art: his words are hues, and, like the colours of some of the Italian painters, they seem warm with the life of the poet's mind. Beauty delights especially to dwell upon the bosom of quiet and meditative thought, and the pavilion in which she loves to abide must be removed from the noise and discordant sounds of turmoil and passion.

Sophocles is related to have possessed all the qualities requisite to attach the inspiring love of this priestess of the imagination. He was lovely in person, gentle in manners, serene in disposition, and he communicated much of this charm to his poetry. He moves with bland and delicious influence among the terrible and ghastly forms to which the legends of his country gave birth. His presence diffuses an ambrosial light upon the dark and heavy atmosphere which so frequently overhangs the characters of his dramas. Even the appalling features, and the sleepless eyes of *Destiny* itself, assume before him a softer aspect and a calmer expression. He loosens the iron chains of Fatalism by which all the members, so to speak, of the Grecian mind were bound and made captive, or he wreaths them with flowers to conceal them from the observation. We almost forget the wretched and afflicted *Œdipus* when we contemplate the affectionate *Antigone*.

The great skill of *Sophocles* in what *Coleridge* calls the science of method may be remarked in the gradual developement of the incidents in the *Electra*. The introduction of the *Orestes* upon the stage as the feigned bearer of his own ashes is very picturesquely conceived, and the pathetic manner in which his sorrowful sister takes the urn into her hands has never been surpassed in any composition with which we are acquainted. Her agonizing

apostrophe, to borrow a phrase of Dr. South, seems "to be compacted of grief." Can any thing exceed the poignant anguish of the following lines :

"Thou hast undone me, O my dearest brother!
 Thou hast indeed undone me ! Therefore now
 Receive, receive me to thy narrow home,
 To thee, who now art nothing, would I come,
 Who shall be nothing soon, in the cold grave
 Henceforth to dwell together. While in life
 I ever shared thy lot, and now in death
 I ask but to partake thy sepulchre,
 The dead I see are grieved no more for ever !"

We quote from the translation of Sophocles, by the Reverend Thomas Dale, and we may take this opportunity of offering him our tribute of praise for the general accuracy and elegance which characterise it.

The appearance of Euripides as a dramatic writer was coeval with the departure of Æschylus from Athens. He enjoyed to the greatest possible extent all the advantages afforded to the student in that accomplished era—his master in rhetoric was Prodicus, the most fashionable sophist of that day, and whose lectures were so expensive that he became known by the appellation of the Fifty Drachma Rhetorician. He studied philosophy under Anaxagoras, who appears to have opened a school in Athens, about his fortieth year, and who numbered among his pupils not only the illustrious Pericles, but, according to Suidas, the almost Christian Socrates. Probably we shall not err in attributing some of the defects of the poetry of Euripides to the peculiar aptitude with which he imbibed the sophistries of his instructors. He too frequently works the pure gold of his poetry into the glittering but fragile ornaments of the rhetorician. He appears to have prided himself upon the esoteric knowledge he had acquired, and to have allowed willingly no opportunity to escape him of manifesting this knowledge. The voluptuous elegance of his friend Pericles possessed a particular charm for the philosophic poet. He drank copiously of that *liqueur enivrante* which the Athenian statesman presented to his countrymen. The administration of Pericles comprises the most splendid portion of Athenian art and literature. He was the Magnificent of his age. If he drew out immense sums from the treasury, it was with a view of embellishing the city, and not for the purposes of private aggrandisement. He himself was abstemious in the midst of abundance. Among a people whose passions were so lively as those of the Athenians, so susceptible of every external impression, we may conclude that a character like that of Pericles must have

been enthusiastically admired. Valcknaer has gracefully alluded to this fact in one of his inaugural discourses, when he says, that he seemed to be popular even in his very severity.* But to return to Euripides. When he first directed his mind to the drama, the names of Æschylus and Sophocles were the familiar symbols of sublimity and beauty; his only chance of success therefore was to be sought in a style which should unite to the majestic dignity of Sophocles a more delicate pathos and a more voluptuous colouring. Perhaps the excessive refinement which the prosperity of later years had introduced, might have predisposed the minds of the Athenians to the reception of the soft and harmonious images which his poetry suggested. Even the delicious languor of his verse has an intoxicating influence upon the senses. Some of his pictures of nature are charming in the extreme. How beautifully does he lead down the rejoicing *Bacchæ* from the golden heights of Mount Tmolus, while the frequent *Evœ!* *Evœ!* keep time with the deep-toned timbrel! But sometimes he rises in strength and power—terrible in the gigantic horror of his conceptions—we cease to listen to the soft and silver-lipped sophist. When the bow of his imagination is strung, the arrows it flings forth are like the lightning.

The *Medea* is the most powerful effort of his mind. The fiery blood of the Spirit of the Sun, from whom she is descended, seems to boil in her veins. Forsaken and despised by him for whom she has dared so much, all the affections of her heart are driven back—a desolate and hated woman, she now feels the whole weight of her calamity. The pathetic soliloquy of the nurse at the commencement of the tragedy places *Medea* at once before us. Her love for the treacherous Jason is not entirely destroyed. She passes her time in grief and mourning; a day of tears is succeeded by a night of watching. She turns a deaf ear to the entreaties of her friends; and then, all at once, the remembrance of her father, her ruined home, her alienated friends, returns with bitter violence. She hates her betrayer and even her children. Her passions swell like a storm. In proportion to the rapidity with which the feeling of affection declines, the desire of vengeance arises in its stead. She is a lioness thirsting for blood, and she tracks the way to her victims with fatal calmness and ingenuity. The mighty enchantress becomes, as it were, by a powerful metempsychosis, a creature full of meekness and humanity. She submits herself humbly to the Corinthian women who form the Chorus; she bows to the commands of Creon; she is an obedient suppliant to Ægeus.

* De Publicis Atheniensium Moribus. Leyden, 1766.

In her conversation with the Chorus she restrains the feelings of wrath which are continually striving to break forth. Upon the command of Creon that she should depart from his territory without delay, she only entreats to be allowed one day to "recollect her thoughts," and make some provision for her sons. Into that brief space of time she intends to crowd a mass of suffering! In her interview with Jason the fury and jealousy of her mind overcome her prudence and hypocrisy. She rejects his offers of assistance, and flings him from her with scorn and contempt. All the arrows, to employ the metaphor of the Chorus, which had been shot from the golden bow of Venus are now dipped in deadly poison. But it is not until she has succeeded in obtaining a promise, confirmed by an oath, from Ægeus, of protection and support in the hour of peril, that she can be said to deliver herself entirely up to the dominion of her passion. But this being accomplished, she "blows the last remains of her love," like a vapour, to heaven. She bids her affection yield up its throne "to tyrannous hate." Meanwhile her craft increases with her iniquity. She sends for Jason, and asks his forgiveness for the intemperance of her former conduct; entreating him to obtain for her children the protection of his young and powerful bride, and permission to remain in the country. To propitiate her favour she sends presents,

" Whose beauteous lustre far outshines
Whate'er of radiance human eyes have seen,
A fire-wrought robe, a gold-entwined crown."

They were gifts of the Sun to his descendants.

The story leaps on to its fatal resting-place with dreadful strides. The shadows of death begin to arise about us. That gold-entwined crown and that glittering garment are the raiment and the ornament of the dead. The daughter of Creon will be the Bride of the Grave. When Medea learns that the sentence of banishment passed upon her children has been remitted, a terrible conflict arises in her bosom. Pride and love, jealousy and hatred, the forsaken wife and the yearning mother,—all are doing battle together. She gazes upon her sons, and they smile affectionately in her face—she knows that it will be their last smile—that in an hour the lids will close upon those eyes for ever. As the image of their gentle youth rises before her, the deed of blood recedes from her contemplation. She cannot do it. She becomes infirm of purpose; the iron grasp of revenge relaxes its tension—the calm lasts but for a moment, and the tide of her fury returns with fourfold power, sweeping every softer feeling before it.

Shall she leave her children exposed to the malignant scoffings and revilings of the rich and prosperous in a strange land? No! she has entered the path of blood, and it must be trodden; destiny has dug the tombs of her children, and they must be filled.

At this period the messenger rushes on the stage announcing the horrible death of the monarch's daughter. The account is fearfully picturesque. The joy with which the young bride received the presents—the apparelling herself before the mirror—the dainty and delighted step with which she walked up and down her chamber; and then the sudden change which came over her dream; the horror when the poison took effect; the gradual drying up of life—the shriek of torture—the stiffening eye—the golden crown eating with its teeth of fire into her brain—the garment scorching the very bones—all these awful items in the catalogue of misery are given with startling truth. At length in total exhaustion she sinks upon the floor. The wretched father flies to take her in his arms, and immediately becomes a prey to the same magical potency of pain. He is folded, as it were, within arms of flame—he strives to extricate himself, but in vain. The father and the daughter sleep side by side! The recital of the sufferings of her rival seem to have sharpened rather than gorged the appetite of blood. It grows enamoured of what it feeds on. Her children are the final sacrifice.

Schlegel considers it fortunate for Shakespeare that he lived in an age extremely susceptible of noble and tender impressions, yet retaining enough of the firmness inherited from a bold and manly ancient time, not to shrink with dismay from every strong and violent picture. He could not certainly be said, in the words of a clever writer, to have lived “before nerves came into fashion,” but in his day they were braced into energy by the pure and invigorating air of the moral element in which men moved. The swoon of a love-sick lady at that season made a poor catastrophe to a tragedy. The observation of the German critic is not inapplicable to the Grecian poet. The *Medea* is perhaps, taken all in all, one of the most sublimely conceived and pathetically executed dramas in existence. The contending passions in the mind of the enchantress are thrown, to so speak, into a most vigorous relieve. They have the ardour of Æschylus, rather than the polish of Euripides. But the pathos is at once recognized to belong to the author of *Hecuba*. The farewell of the guilty mother to her children calls the tears into our eyes; to use a quaint yet expressive phrase of Charles Lamb, in his criticism upon King Lear,—*it flays our feelings alive*. We never recollect to have entered so entirely into the noble imagining of the poet, as when gazing upon the sublime representation of the *Medea*

by the inimitable Pasta. The soul of the great magician seemed to have passed into her frame. Her passions were colossal.

But there is one scene in the *Orestes* which we believe the general consent of criticism has elevated to the highest rank of poetry. We mean that scene in which the madness and returning calmness of the afflicted *Orestes* are so pathetically portrayed.

The story of *Orestes* is one of the most essentially tragic in existence. The representation of a son taking upon himself the avengement of his father by the murder of his mother, has something chilling and terrible to the feelings of the present age. But in the period in which the scene of the tragedy was laid, the office of *blood-avenger* was one of peculiar sanctity, and intimately connected with the ordinances of religion. The custom has existed time immemorial in the east, and allusions to its prevalence are frequent in the pages of the Greek poets. The Arab *Tāir* and the Hebrew *Goël* were represented by the *Τιμωρορ* of the Greeks. *Æschylus* speaks of him in the *Agamemnon*, and we find mention of him in the *Choëphoræ*, the *Eumenides*, the *Electra*, and other dramas. In any case where a deed of murder had been committed by an individual, he was said to have given birth to an *Erynnis*, a mode of speech constantly recurring in the tragic poets. We find also that the *Τιμωρορ*, or avenger, was consecrated and especially devoted to the Deity, by whose instigation the deed had been performed. This fact will enable us to comprehend, more perfectly, the terms in which *Orestes* is perpetually calling upon *Apollo* in the dramas of *Æschylus* and *Euripides*. Among the primitive Greeks and the people of the east, a tardiness in seeking retribution was considered a shame and disgrace, not only to the individual, but to the family. In the poetry of the Arabians, the venom of the basilisk is said to issue from the body of the murdered person, and to continue to flow until stopped by the blood of the enemy; and in some places mention is made of a bird of death, which springs up from the wounds of the deceased and pursues the murderer.

The history of the heroic ages contains the memorial of two princes who destroyed their mothers for the crimes which they had committed—*Alcmeon*, son of *Amphiarus*, and *Orestes*. The matricide of *Alcmeon* formed the subject of a tragedy by *Sophocles* and also by *Euripides*.* But a few fragments only are preserved. The pardon and consequent felicity of *Orestes*, at the conclusion of the drama, may at first appear to be in perfect opposition to the terms in which the Chorus, in *The Seven against Thebes*, assure *Eteocles* that there is no expiation for the shedding of cognate blood. But an able oriental critic, by inter-

* *Fabric. Bib. Gr.* 2, 18, p. 204.—*Harles.*

preting their ideas upon this subject according to the Mosaic and eastern customs, has pointed out a wide distinction to be made between *Œdipus* and *Orestes* on the one hand, and *Eteocles* and *Polynices* on the other. *Œdipus*, he remarks, through provocation slays his father, being ignorant who he was, and receives purification according to the Oracle; *Clytemnestra* murders *Agamemnon*; consequently, though she was the mother of *Orestes*, the office of blood-avenger devolves upon him; therefore he is finally liberated from the crime of matricide. But *Eteocles* deliberately, and without these claims to the office of the *Τυμωρος*, endeavours to accomplish the death of his brother, and *Polynices* enters the battle with the same intentions; and therefore the exclamation of the Chorus is perfectly in accordance with the genius of the *Institution*. But the *Orestes* is particularly touching from its domestic character. The failure of the ancient dramatists in their delineations of the female character has been frequently noticed. Whether this was owing, observes Mr. Dale in his interesting preface to the *Electra* of *Sophocles*, to the deference paid to the popular opinion respecting the sex, or in subservience to their own prejudices, it is not easy to decide; but the fact is certain that, with the exception of the *Antigone* of *Sophocles*, there are few, if any, of the softer sex, among the dramatic characters of the ancients, who are entitled to our unqualified esteem. The *Electra* of *Sophocles* is a high-spirited woman, impressed according to the feelings of that age with the conviction of the imperative necessity which existed for her mother's death, as an expiation of the treacherous murder of *Agamemnon*. In every other respect, continues Mr. Dale, as a sister and a friend, she claims our sympathy. But it should be remembered that almost all the female characters of the Greek dramas belong to the heroic age—an age of antiquity in the days of *Æschylus*, when the passions wore a sharper and deadlier edge than in later times. De Stael has some very ingenious and eloquent remarks upon the absence of love in the ancient drama, and its consequent deficiency in interest.* The manner in which the Grecian women were usually brought up, and the oriental seclusion in which the greater part of them passed their days, naturally rendered them less susceptible of impressions from outward causes. The law, which forbade the appearance of women upon the stage, was another obstacle to the poet. But in his *Electra*, *Euripides* has embodied the most beautiful conception of a lovely and affectionate sister, devoted to the care and protection of a guilty and suffering brother. Many of us have a form like hers treasured up in our heart of hearts: we can all

appreciate the intensity and holiness of her love. Her beauty, her youth, her health, are all sacrificed willingly for her brother. She dwells in the house of mourning like a ministering spirit. Before her face the shadows flee away. All around is horror and desolation. Her father and mother are both dead, and a fearful phrenzy has bound the faculties of Orestes. Her footsteps alone make a gentle light amid the darkness of that melancholy story. But we trust that the following specimens will present her in a more beautiful fashion to the reader's eyes than we can hope to do in any other manner. We submit our translation with humility and hesitation. We have endeavoured, while we have not been unfaithful to the sense, to be still truer to the fame of the poet. In order to comprehend the following scene, we must imagine Electra to be sitting by the couch of her brother, who has fallen into a sweet sleep. The Chorus, composed of Argive maidens, come to inquire after him.

Cho. Thy brother, sweet—how fares it with him?

Electra. Oh sad the burden of his calendar,
Tears and sleep, and tears without the sleep—
You have his history.

Cho. What dost thou say, poor mourner?

Elect. Oh, if thy voice should break the pleasant sleep
That bringeth sweetest joy unto his eyes—
'Twere worse than death.

Cho. Dost thou see—he moveth in the clothes.

Elect. Wretched that thou art, thy voice hath cast
His slumber from him.

Cho. He sleeps again.—

Elect. Thon sayest well.

Cho. Come holy, holy, Night,

Arise from Lethe's spring—
For the heart that wept in the morning light
May sleep beneath thy wing!
Come, come, with thy sable plume
From Erebus deep gloom,
To Agamemnon's lonely hearth,—
Our hearts are bow'd unto the earth;
Yea, we are torn with grief and fear,
Oh bring thy shadows here!"

It is amusing to mark how entirely the Italian translator Carmeli has lost the beauty of this invocation.

“O veneranda notte,
O veneranda tu,
Che doni al sonno a miseri
Mortali, vieni, vieni
Del Erebo volando

In casa d'Agamemnone,
Poiche noi per gli affanni
Per le sventure siamo,
Perdute, o mai, perdute."

"Orestes (*rising from the bed.*)

Sweet Spirit of kind Sleep, thou comforter
Of pain, how pleasant hath thy coming been
To me in my deep sorrow!
Forgetfulness of woes, how wise thou art!
Thine arm is round the homeless, and they find
In thy embrace a home, a patrimony!
Whence came I thither? How came I here?
I know not; for the memory of the past
Is faded like a shadow.

Elect. How gladly have I watched thy sleep, my brother!
Say, shall I raise thee on thy couch.

Orest. Take me, oh take me in thine arms,
And from my parched lips and eyes wipe off
The frothy moisture.

Elect. Behold thy sister servant, gleefully
She ministers unto her brother.

Orest. Now lie down by my side, and from my face
Put back the matted tresses—I see thickly.

Elect. (*Shaking back his hair, and looking affectionately into his countenance.*)

Ye tangled locks, of old so beautiful!
How wildly ye are scattered!

Orest. Now lay me on the bed again, for when
The fever leaves me I am quite feeble,
And my limbs do faint beneath me.

Elect. How pleasant to the sick man is the couch,
A mournful, yet a needful heritage.

Orest. Raise me up once more, surround my body
With the covering.

Elect. Or wilt thou try to walk upon the ground,
Lingering on each footstep. There is a charm
In changing.*

Orest. Well, be it so, it hath the imaging
Of health, and there is pleasure in't,
Altho' it be but seeming.

Elect. Now list thee, my sweet brother,
While the dark phantom doth afflict thee not.

Orest. What news hast thou?—if glad I welcome it,
If ought of grief, I need it not, my heart
Doth dwell with sorrow!

* The view of this passage taken by Potter agrees with our own—

"Or wilt thou try with slow steps on the ground
To fix thy feet."

but in many places we have seen *χρῆσις* rendered as referring to the long time which had elapsed since Orestes had walked, an interpretation evidently destructive of the exquisite delicacy and truth of the image.

Elect. Thy father's brother, Menelaus, is here,
The fleet is riding in the Nauplian Bay!

Orest. Dost say so? then light is breaking on us,
He was the cherished of my father.
(*The phrenzy of Orestes suddenly returns.*)

Elect. Woe is me, my brother!—how thine eye
Is troubled, and the glow upon thy cheek
Is changed to sadness.

Orest. Mother! I do beseech thee, urge them not,
Their eyes are hot with blood, their hair is living—
There, they are by my side—there—
They leap upon me—

Elect. Rest thee upon thy couch, and shake not so,
Poor child of tears, thou dost see nothing
Of the things thou drest.

Orest. Spirit of Light! the ministers of death—
The dog-faced—the devils—they—they—choak me!

Elect. (*Leaning over him and endeavouring to keep him on the bed.*)
I will not let thee go, my brother; thus
Folding my arm about thy neck
I will restrain thee.

Orest. (*Struggling violently.*)
Get thee gone!—thou art one of my furies,
And thou dost grasp me so that thou may'st hurl
My soul to Tartarus.

Elect. Oh! wretched that I am, where shall I look
For succour, since the arm of heaven is turn'd
Against me?

(*Orestes is supposed to leap from the bed as if to drive away the Furies.*)

Orest. Give me the horned bow, the gift of Phœbus,
That I may scatter from my burning eyes
The visions that do so affright me!

Elect. Shall One of Heaven by mortal arm
Be wounded?

Orest. Unless she straitway vanish from my sight—
Hear ye not?—do ye not see the hurtling
Of the wing'd arrows leaping from the bow.
Ah! ah! Why tarry ye?—Away i' the
Troubled air rustle your stormy wings,—
Go, question Phœbus's oracles—
What aileth me that I do pant thus heavily?
Whither have I been wandering from the couch,
For o'er the tempest of my heart sweet peace
Once more is gliding.
Why dost thou weep, my sister, folding up
Thine eye of tears beneath thy garment?
I am ashamed to make thy gleeful heart
Partaker with my sorrow. Oh, waste not so
Thy lamp of youth in sorrow's vigil;

I did the deed of blood, I only
Am the matricide.

* * * * *

And now unveil thy face, my sister,
Yea, come forth from thy weeping, though we be
Most bitterly afflicted :
For when my spirit doth grow dark, thine arm
Must be around me, and thy gentle voice
Speak hope and comfort to me ; and when thou
Art sick or desolate, my hand shall pour
A brother's love upon thy head, my song
Shall dwell about thy pillow.
And now, dear mourner, to thy chamber go,
In balmy sleep thy sleepless eyelids closing ?*
For, oh, if thou shouldst leave me, or thy love,
Thy watchful love, bring sickness to thee, whom
Shall I find to sit beside my bed,
And soothe the troubled visions of the night ?—
Alas, I am an orphan !

The reader will perceive that we have omitted many lines of the original in our translation, retaining only so much as would enable us to present the beautiful domestic poetry of the scene. The extent of the foregoing remarks must plead our apology for thus abruptly bringing this article to a conclusion.

ART. V.—*Observations on the Mussulmans of India; descriptive of their Manners, Customs, Habits, and Religious Opinions. Made during a Twelve Years' Residence in their immediate Society.* By Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali. 2 vols. London. Parbury, Allen and Co.

Pen and Pencil Sketches; being the Journal of a Tour in India. By Captain Mundy, late Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere. 2 vols. London. Murray.

THESE are precisely the books from which information, on matters of ordinary occurrence in India, may be most agreeably derived; and, although differing from each other in many respects, both as to object and to character, they have quite enough similarity to justify us in classing them together. Each of the writers honestly disclaims every pretension to literature and science: the lady modestly introduces herself as “a very humble scribe;” the gentleman more boldly affirms that it is “a fortunate default in his education” which has left him “totally unskilled in

Botany and Geology;" and we are by no means inclined to dispute the validity of his reasons for considering this deficiency to be a piece of good luck. *Per contra*, both of them evidently possess great quickness of observation, much good sense, and abundance of well-directed feeling; both, moreover, have had more than common opportunities of closely inspecting the habits which they have described. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali is, perhaps, the only Englishwoman who, by braving the chance of Polygamy, has entitled herself to entire acquaintance with the mysteries of the Muggancee, or first matrimonial contract, and of the Sarchuck, the Mayndhie, and the Baarraat, the three days of nuptial ceremony; and, if we may judge from the cheerful tone of her volumes, and from the affection with which she speaks of many of the kinsfolk whom she acquired by marriage, she has not had reason to regret the morning on which she somewhat stealthily plighted her vows to a bearded spouse at an English altar. Captain Mundy, by his close attachment to the person of the Commander-in-chief, enjoyed facilities of access to the Native Powers rarely to be attained in more subordinate stations; and he was received with distinction by the King of Oude, in the Dil Koosha at Lucknow, and by the descendant of Aurungzebe, in the Dewânee Khâs of Delli. To this knowledge of Courts, for which he was indebted to the accident of military rank, his own peculiar tastes have added an intimate acquaintance with the sporting amusements of the natives; and from the mouth of the Ganges to the very gorge of the Shattool Pass, in the Himalaya Mountains, snakes, hogs, tigers, antelopes, alligators, and other such "small gear," were doomed to fall beneath his unerring Manton. No embryo out-and-outer, in his first Melton season, ever tallyhoed from the cover-side with half the ardour which animated this Oriental Nimrod at the entrance of a jungle; and his spirited pencil, aided by the inimitable burin of Landseer, has presented a series of "Ideas" and "Symptoms" on Indian Hunting which may claim fair companionship with the similar moving accidents of English flood and field immortalized by Aiken.

Our first extracts will exhibit the two writers in contrast on the same subject; and we shall afterwards take each of them at hazard, as they happen to strike our fancy. The following passages contain the impressions produced upon Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali and Captain Mundy respectively, by interviews with the same person, and *that* no less a person than the Great Mogul. The sole difference is, that the one was admitted to a public and stately audience; the other enjoyed a private and, if we may so express ourselves, a friendly conversation. The young soldier writes, as he does throughout, in a light, playful, careless, off-

hand, and *degagé* manner; the matron, as will be perceived, is somewhat more staid and sententious:—

“The palace occupies an immense space of ground, enclosed by high walls, and entered by a gateway of grand architecture. On either side the entrance I noticed lines of compact buildings, occupied by the military, reaching to the second gateway, which is but little inferior in style and strength to the grand entrance; and here again appear long lines of buildings similarly occupied. I passed through several of these formidable barriers before I reached the marble hall, where the king holds his *darbar* (court) at stated times; but as mine was a mere unceremonious visit to the king and queen, it was not at the usual hour of *darbar*, and I passed through the hall without making any particular observations, although I could perceive it was not deficient in the costliness and splendour suited to the former greatness of the Indian empire.

“After being conveyed through several splendid apartments, I was conducted to the queen’s *mahul*, (palace for females,) where his majesty and the queen were awaiting my arrival. I found on my entrance the king seated in the open air in an arm chair, enjoying his *hookha*; the queen’s *musnud* was on the ground, close by the side of her venerable husband. Being accustomed to native society, I knew how to render the respect due from an humble individual to personages of their exalted rank. After having left my shoes at the entrance and advanced towards them, my *salaams* were tendered, and then the usual offering of *nuzzas*, first to the king, and then to the queen, who invited me to a seat on her own carpet,—an honour I knew how to appreciate from my acquaintance with the etiquette observed on such occasions.

“The whole period of my visit was occupied in very interesting conversation; eager enquiries were made respecting England, the government, the manners of the court, the habits of the people, my own family affairs, my husband’s views in travelling, and his adventures in England, my own satisfaction as regarded climate, and the people with whom I was so immediately connected by marriage; the conversation, indeed, never flagged an instant, for the condescending courtesy of their majesties encouraged me to add to their entertainment, by details which seemed to interest and delight them greatly.

“On taking leave his majesty very cordially shook me by the hand, and the queen embraced me with warmth. Both appeared, and expressed themselves, highly gratified with the visit of an English lady who could explain herself in their language without embarrassment, or the assistance of an interpreter, and who was the more interesting to them from the circumstance of being the wife of a *Syaad*; the queen, indeed, was particular in reminding me that ‘the *Syaads* were, in a religious point of view, the nobles of the *Mussulmauns*, and revered as such far more than those titled characters who receive their distinction from their fellow mortals.’

“I was grieved to be obliged to accept the queen’s parting present of an embroidered scarf, because I knew her means were exceedingly

limited compared with the demands upon her bounty ; but I could not refuse that which was intended to do me honour at the risk of wounding those feelings I so greatly respected. A small ring, of trifling value, was then placed by the queen on my finger, as she remarked, ‘ to remind me of the giver.’

“ The king’s countenance, dignified by age, possesses traces of extreme beauty ; he is much fairer than Asiatics usually are ; his features are still fine, his hair silvery white ; intelligence beams upon his brow, his conversation gentle and refined, and his condescending manners hardly to be surpassed by the most refined gentleman of Europe. I am told by those who have been long intimate with his habits in private, that he leads a life of strict piety and temperance, equal to that of a *durweish* of his faith, whom he imitates in expending his income on others without indulging in a single luxury himself.

The queen’s manners are very amiable and condescending ; she is reported to be as highly gifted with intellectual endowments as I can affirm she is with genuine politeness.”—vol. ii. pp. 155—159.

Captain Mundy, as in duty bound, accompanied the Commander-in-Chief :—

“ On entering the precincts of the royal abode, we filed through sundry narrow and dirty alleys, until we arrived at an arched gate, too low to admit our elephants. We were therefore obliged to dismount, and proceed on foot. Lord Combermere, however, balked the evident intention of the prince to make him walk, by getting into his palankeen. We shortly arrived at the archway leading into the quadrangle, in which the Dewanee Khâs, or hall of audience, is situated, where the Commander-in-chief was required to dismiss his palankeen.

“ On passing the *Lal Purdah*, or great red curtain which veils the entrance, the whole of our party, English and native, made a low salaam, in honour of the august majesty of which we were as yet not in sight.”—vol. i. pp. 77, 78.

“ At the entrance of the corridor leading to the presence, the Resident and his assistants were required to take off shoes and hats ; but according to previous agreement, Lord Combermere and his suite retained both boots and hats during the whole ceremony.

“ The Dewanee Khâs is a beautiful open edifice, supported on white marble columns, the whole elegantly inlaid and gilt. The roof is said to have been vaulted with silver in the more prosperous days of the Delhi empire, but it was spoiled by those common devastators of India, the Mahrattas. Around the cornice still remains the (now, at least, inapplicable) inscription, ‘ If there be a Paradise upon earth, it is this, it is this.’ The throne, occupying the centre of the building, is raised about three feet from the floor, and shaded by a canopy of gold tissue and seed-pearl. There are no steps to the front of the throne, the entrance being in the rear. Seated cross-legged upon it, and supported by surrounding cushions, we found the present representative of the Great Mogul. He is a fine-looking old man, his countenance dignified, and his white beard descending upon his breast. On his

right hand stood his youngest and favourite son, Selim, and on the left the heir-apparent, a mean-looking personage, and shabbily attired in comparison with his younger brother. It was impossible to contemplate without feelings of respect, mingled with compassion, the descendant of Baber, Acbar, Shah Jehan, and Aurungzebe, reduced, as he is now, to the mere shadow of a monarch; especially when one reflected that, had it not been for European intrigues and interference, this man, instead of being the dependent pensioner of a handful of merchants, might perhaps still, like his ancestors, have been wielding the sceptre of the richest and most extensive dominions in the world. Whilst employed in these cogitations, a provoking wag whispered in my ear, 'Do you trace any resemblance to the Mogul on the cover of a pack of cards?' and I with great difficulty *hemmed* away a violent burst of laughter in the presence of 'the Asylum of the Universe.'

"The old monarch, mindful of his dignity, scarcely deigned to notice, even by a look, the Commander-in-chief as he approached to present his 'nuzzar' of fifty gold mohurs. He did not even condescend to raise his eyes towards the rest of the party, as we advanced one by one, salaamed, and offered our three gold mohurs. His air, however, was not haughty, but he affected a sleepy, dignified indifference, as he scraped the money from our hands, and handed it to his treasurer. The staff presented likewise a nuzzar of two gold mohurs to the heir-apparent.

"On receiving Lord Combermere's offering, the King placed a turban, similar to his own, upon his head, and his lordship was conducted, retiring with his face sedulously turned towards the throne, to an outer apartment, to be invested with a khillât, or dress of honour. In about five minutes he returned to the presence, attired in a spangled muslin robe and tunic; salaamed, and presented another nuzzar. The staff were then led across the quadrangle by the 'grooms of the robes' to the 'green room,' where a quarter of an hour was sufficiently disagreeably employed by us in arraying ourselves, with the aid of the grooms, in silver muslin robes, and sir-peaches or fillets, of the same material, tastily bound round our cocked-hats. Never did I behold a group so ludicrous as we presented when our toilette was accomplished; we wanted nothing but a 'Jack i' the Green' to qualify us for a May-day exhibition of the most exaggerated order. In my gravest moments the recollection of this scene provokes an irresistible fit of laughter. As soon as we had been decked out in this satisfactory guise, we were marched back again through the Lâl Purdar and crowds of spectators, and re-conducted to the Dewânee Khâs, where we again separately approached his Majesty to receive from him a tiara of gold and false stones, which he placed with his own hands on our hats. As we got not even 'the estimation of a hair' without paying for it, we again presented a gold mohur each. The Honourable Company, of course, 'paid for all,' and our gold mohurs were handed to us by the resident. It was a fine pay-day for the impoverished old Sultan, whose 'pay and allowances' are only twelve lacs of rupees, or £120,000 a-year. His ancestor, the Emperor Acbar's revenue was somewhat better; including

presents, and estates of officers of the crown falling in, it amounted to about fifty-two millions sterling.

“As we retired from the presence, the heralds, with stentorian voices, proclaimed the titles of honour which had been conferred by the Emperor on his Excellency the Commander-in-chief. Among other high-sounding appendages to his name, he received the following:—Ghezeffer al Douleh, or Champion of the State; Sipeh Salah, Commander-in-chief; Saif al Moolook, Sword of the Empire; Khan Jehan, Lord of the World; Khan Behâder; and Rastum Jung, which latter might be translated the Hercules of Battles. In addition to these titular honours, his lordship was presented with a palankeen of state, and the nowbut, or royal kettle-drum, which, if I mistake not, infers the power of life and death. The audience being concluded, we retired, still practising the *chassée en arrière*, and all gave the Great Mogul a parting salaam ere we passed the Lâl Purdar. The ceremony, though interesting and novel, was irksome and fatiguing.”—*Captain Mundy*, vol. i. pp. 79—84.

The Syaads, to whom the Queen of the Moguls alluded above, and from her connection with whom Mrs. Hassan Ali, by right of her husband, derives the honourable title *Meer*, are descendants from Mohammed, and as such form the Mussulmaun aristocracy. Their genealogy is most carefully preserved; and every child born to Syaad parents is taught, as soon as it can speak intelligibly and before it quits the Zeenahnah, to recount its lineage up to Hassan or Hosein, the two sons of Ali by his cousin Fatima, daughter of the Prophet. The daughters, who by birth are hereditary Begums, or Ladies, are rarely matched out of their own race, whatever may be the wealth of the suitor; and many therefore, in consequence of this unbending pride of family, are condemned to celibacy and poverty. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali speaks of three Syaad ladies with whom she was intimately acquainted, young women “remarkable for their industrious habits, morality, and strict observance of their religious duties, handsome, well-formed, polite and sensible,” and possessing, in addition, an accomplishment by no means common among the females of Hindostan, that of being able to read the Koran in Arabic and its commentary in Persian. These ladies had refused numerous offers from persons of great wealth but of defective pedigree; and they preferred the scanty subsistence which they could procure by the hard labour of their hands to the degradation of a *mesalliance*. “I have known them to be employed in working the *jaullic* (netting) for *courties* (a part of the female dress) which after six days close application, at the utmost could not realize three shillings each; yet I never saw them other than contented, happy and cheerful; a family of love and patterns of sincere piety.

Much of the insight which Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali obtained into the recondite parts of Mussulmaun doctrine was derived from her father-in-law, Meer Hadjee Shah, a venerable octogenarian, who had thrice achieved the pilgrimage to Mecca, and who still hoped to perform it a fourth time in company with his son's wife, albeit she was Christian, and to lay his bones in the consecrated soil of the holy district. A mania for accommodating prophecy to passing events, and a belief in the approach of a season, resembling the supposed Millennium, in which there shall be perfect peace and happiness over all the world, appears to be no less prevalent among the Oriental devotees of the present day, than it is among some of our own fanatics; and the cause is probably the same in both cases—namely, superabundant *animal* piety operating upon half knowledge and unsound judgment. The contest between the Greeks and Turks, of which, after all, the Indian Mussulmauns possess but very incorrect knowledge, is referred by them to a prophecy which declares that “when Mecca is filled with Christian people, Emaum Mhidhie will appear to draw men to the true Faith, and then also Jesus Christ will descend from Heaven to Mecca; there will be great slaughter among men, after which there will be but one Faith;” and the period of universal *earthly* beatitude will commence. This Emaum Mhidhie, between whom and the prophetic Elias a resemblance in some respects may be discerned, is in others a most ambiguous and mystic personage, admirably adapted to the use of Apocalyptic *Ædipi*. He is called “the standing proof,” and all parties agree that he is to visit the Earth at a future period. Some, however, maintain that he is yet to be born, others that he is only to re-appear. One Sect affirms that he is still on Earth, dwelling in Wilds and Forests; and many believe that he annually visits the Holy House (Caaba) of Mecca, on the great day of sacrifice, *without being recognized*.

“There is but little more to finish”—“the time draws near,” are common Mussulmaun expressions when speaking of those which, for the sake of convenience, we shall call Millenarian prophecies. Meer Hadjee Shah, through his daughter-in-law, had become intimately acquainted with the Bible; he acknowledged its divine origin, and he admitted it and the Koran to be the “two witnesses” of God. No slight proof of the benevolent and tolerant spirit of the amiable old man is afforded by the pleasure with which he frequently recalled two favourite texts—“Other sheep I have which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd;”—and again, “In my Father's house are many mansions.” In his last serious conversation with Mrs.

Meer Hassan Ali, which occurred but a few days before his death, and which, she says, contains "the real sentiments of most, if not of every religious, reflecting, true Mussulmaun of his sect in India," he thus expressed himself:—

"We had been talking of the time when peace on earth should be universal; 'My time, dear battie (daughter), is drawing to a quick conclusion. You may live to see the events foretold, I shall be in my grave; but remember, I tell you now, though I am dead, yet when Jesus Christ returns to earth, at his coming, I shall rise again from my grave; and I shall be with him, and with Emaum Mhidhie also.'—*Meer Hassan*, vol. i. p. 145.

The life of Meer Hadjee Shah was strongly tinctured with Eastern adventure. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali intends, at some future time, to write a detailed Biographical Memoir of her Father-in-law, and we shall here abridge her present abridgment. Meer Hadjee Shah was the eldest son of a Kauzy, or Judge, in the city of Loodeeanah, the capital of the Punjaab territory, and he was destined by his Father for his own profession. An uncontrollable spirit of enterprise, however, directed the youth's course to another path, and this spirit was strikingly manifested by an incident of his boyhood. On one occasion, during his play-hours, he attempted, in company with some school-fellows, to possess himself of a flock of wild pigeons which lodged in an old well without the town; and on account of his well-known courage he was selected as the hero who was to descend, seated on a piece of board, to snare the birds, by groping for them in a hole which gave them refuge. He had already deposited several of these prizes in a bag slung round him for the purpose, when something met his grasp which he felt assured was *not* a bird; and which, on extricating his arm from the hole, he discovered to be a large and living snake. With great presence of mind he determined not to alarm his play-fellows, who in their terror might have let go the rope and precipitated him to the abyss below; but calling out to them to draw him up quickly, he continued to grasp the snake firmly behind the head, so that it could neither extricate itself nor injure him, unless by the severe pressure of its coiling. During his ascent he rubbed the venomous animal's head against the side-wall, and after he had borne it triumphantly to the summit, the other boys dispatched it with stones. Yet so violent had been the snake's struggles and so powerful its compression, that the skin peeled entirely off the boy's arm, which was useless for many months afterwards.

At seventeen, he determined to engage himself in the military service of a neighbouring Rajah who was levying troops; and on presenting himself at the Durbar he was accepted and enrolled

among the Chief's immediate followers. During several years he accompanied his master to the field, and obtained considerable distinction by the prowess which he exhibited against the Sikhs. He was yet in very early youth when he undertook his first pilgrimage to Mecca; and while in Arabia his funds were wholly exhausted without his possessing acquaintance with a single individual by whom they could be replenished. From this fearful difficulty he was extricated by a lucky incident, which might have happened either to Sindbad or to one of the monocular Calenders; and in the recital of which some allowance perhaps must be made for the romantic colouring which is, for the most part, thrown over Oriental histories. A rich Arabian widow, who had been long tormented with a grievous disease which medical art had failed to relieve, dreamed one night that a certain Syaad pilgrim from India, then abiding at the Serai without the town of her residence, possessed an infallible remedy. Meer Hadjee Shah answered the description of the dream; he was summoned to the Begum's presence, and there disavowed all acquaintance with medicine, but offered a powder which he had about him, and which had greatly benefited a brother pilgrim. Such a testimonial for the efficacy of his drug was quite sufficient to justify an Arabian she-dreamer in swallowing it; and either her own Faith or Meer Hadjee Shah's physic entirely cured the sick Begum's complaint, and as a consequence replenished the pocket of her *Medecin malgré lui-même*.

We pass over the rout of a pack of wolves by the Hadjee's staff; and the sabring a tiger by a weapon, which having, in the hands of his grandsire, severed the head from the carcass of a like animal, at a single blow, was preserved as a proud Family memorial. These are little more than every-day events in Indian life; and where Captain Mundy is in reserve, it would be most unjust to anticipate tigers. A Dream once saved Meer Hadjee Shah from the Plague. In the night-season it was whispered to him, "Go not to Shiraz, where thou shalt not find profit or pleasure, but bend thy steps towards Kraaballah." He obeyed, in spite of the sneers of his comrades, and escaped the contagion, which they afterwards learned was raging at Shiraz. Once was he captured by Arab Pirates, but he harangued them so pathetically in their own language, that they not only released him and his whole ship's crew, but even forced presents upon them in compensation for their inconvenient detention. It would have been remarkable, indeed, if the marriage of such a personage as we are describing had been the result of common-place courtship; and one of his Brides, Fatima, was thrown into his arms by a train of circumstances in full accordance with the remaining tenor of

Meer Hadjee Shah's adventures. Fatima, the orphan daughter of an Arab Chief of Yemen, when in her sixteenth year, in order to escape ill treatment from some of the relations under whose protection she had been left, sought refuge among other kinsfolk in her neighbourhood. In her passage to the new roof she was intercepted by some Bedouin robbers, and carried to their strong hold; where, during her first night's abode with them, she overheard a conversation, by which she learned that in order to prevent detection, they had resolved to put her to death. The intercession of a female among the tribe saved her life, and she was carried a day's journey on a swift camel, and sold to a slave-merchant at Mocha. One of the singular privileges of the anomalous state of slavery in Arabia entitles the captive to a veto on her sale; and Fatima, who was nobly born, resolved to exercise her right to the utmost, and not permit herself to be transferred unless to a proprietor whom she fully approved. A fisherman accordingly, who tendered a large price, and who would have married her, was scornfully refused; and many subsequent chapmen encountered the same fate. It happened that Meer Hadjee Shah, who had promised to carry home a slave for his wife, was passing through Mocha on his return home. Fatima was satisfied by his appearance at the first glance, and was yet more pleased when she learned that he was a Syaad of India, and although not rich, a descendant of the Emaums. The merchant also was heartily glad to dispose of so difficult a piece of goods at a very moderate profit, and the bargain therefore was easily completed. No sooner, however, had Meer Hadjee Shah learned the history of his new acquisition, than he informed Fatima that she was free, and that he would appropriate half the sum which he had with him for his own journey, to restore her under safe convoy to Yemen. The captive heard him with gratitude and astonishment; and weighing the difficulties of return and the chance of an evil reception by her family, against the protection which she felt assured of receiving from so benevolent a master, she declined the proffered boon, and earnestly begged that she might be conveyed to India in his service. Meer Hadjee Shah was at first a little perplexed at this unexpected proposition, and he whispered something about his wife and children; but when Fatima persisted, the accommodating nature of the Mohammedan law stood him greatly in stead.

“After maturely weighing all the circumstances of the voyage by sea, and the long journey by land from Bombay to Lucknow, he came to the determination of giving Fatima a legal claim to his protection, and thereby a security also from slanderous imputations either against her or himself, by marrying her before they embarked at Mocha; and

on their arrival at Lucknow, Fatima was presented to his first wife as worthy her sympathy and kindness, by whom she was received and cherished as a dear sister. The whole family were sincerely attached to the amiable lady during the many years she lived with them in Hindoostan. Her days were passed in piety and peace, leaving not an instance to call forth the regrets of Meer Hadjee Shah, that he had complied with her entreaties in giving her his permanent protection. Her removal from this life to a better was mourned by every member of the family with equal sorrow as when their dearest relative ceased to live."—*Observations, &c.* vol. ii. pp. 417, 418.

Of the severity of the Mussulmaun's Fast during Rumzaun it is probable that very inadequate notions are in general entertained. As it is moveable it sometimes occurs during the hottest and longest days of the year, and it lasts from the moment at which the first streak of light borders the East, till the stars are clearly discerned. During that interval not one particle of food nor drop of liquid passes the lips, and even the hookha, a great antidote to hunger, is rigidly forbidden. It is usually broken by a cooling draught called *tundhie*, composed of the seeds of lettuces, cucumbers, melons and coriander, pounded in water, strained, and flavoured with rose-water, sugar, syrup of pomegranate and *kurah*, a pleasant water distilled from the blossoms of a species of aloe. Without some such preparatory beverage, which varies according to taste, age, constitution and pocket, the immediate relief of hunger by solids would be attended with danger. The noviciate fast of children is a great family event, and often productive of very distressing consequences. Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali mentions the deaths of a son and daughter of respectable parents in Lucknow, which occurred within her own knowledge, during their attempt to perform this most painful duty. The unhappy victims of superstition were respectively thirteen and eleven years of age. Encouraged by their Mother, they persevered with constancy till three of the four Watches into which the Mussulmaun day is divided had passed. They then fainted from exhaustion; every attempt to force water down their swollen throats failed, and they died within a few minutes of each other.

Custom renders the seclusion to which Females are condemned in the Zeenahnah, far less irksome than is imagined by a European habituated to freedom. The commonest operations of Nature, even in the processes of the Garden, are unknown to them; and when they received a *dhaullie* or basket of fruit, vegetables and flowers, they frequently inquired from Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, "How do they grow? How do they look in the ground?" Yet of their resignation to this ignorance she offers the following remarkable example:—

"A lady whose friendship I have enjoyed from my first arrival in India, heard me very often speak of the different places I had visited, and she fancied her happiness very much depended on seeing a river and a bridge. I undertook to gain permission from her husband and father, that the treat might be permitted; they, however, did not approve of the lady being gratified, and I was vexed to be obliged to convey the disappointment to my friend. She very mildly answered me, 'I was much to blame to request what I knew was improper for me to be indulged in; I hope my husband and family will not be displeased with me for my childish wish; pray make them understand how much I repent of my folly. I shall be ashamed to speak on the subject when we meet.'—vol. i. pp. 315, 316.

We should willingly extract the interesting account which Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali has given of a Mussulmaun wedding, but its length forbids us; and we must confine ourselves to the First Contract, or *Mugganee*, which succeeds the entertainment of a proposal. The suitor in the wooing described below was the son of an intimate friend of the writer.

"Being curious to know the whole business of a wedding ceremony amongst the Mussulmaun people, I was allowed to perform the part of 'officiating friend' on this occasion of celebrating the *Mugganee*. The parents of the young lady having been consulted, my visit was a source of solicitude to the whole family, who made every possible preparation to receive me with becoming respect; I went just in time to reach the gate at the moment the parade arrived. I was handed to the door of the *zeenahnah* by the girl's father, and was soon surrounded by the young members of the family, together with many lady-visitors, slaves and women-servants of the establishment. They had never before seen an Englishwoman, and the novelty, I fancy, surprised the whole group; they examined my dress, my complexion, hair, hands, &c., and looked the wonder they could not express in words. The young Begum was not amongst the gazing throng; some preliminary customs detained her behind the *purdah*, where it may be supposed she endured all the agony of suspense and curiosity by her compliance with the prescribed forms.

"The lady of the mansion waited my approach to the *dulhauin* (great hall) with all due etiquette, standing to receive and embrace me on my advancing towards her. This ceremony performed, I was invited to take a seat on the *musnud*-carpet with her on the ground; a chair had been provided for me, but I chose to respect the lady's preference, and the seat on the floor suited me for the time without much inconvenience.

"After some time had been passed in conversation on such subjects as suited the taste of the lady of the house, I was surprised at the servants entering with trays, which they placed immediately before me, containing a full-dress suit in the costume of *Hindoostaun*. The hostess told me she had prepared this dress for me, and I must condescend to wear it. I would have declined the gaudy array, but one of

her friends whispered me, 'The custom is of long standing; when the face of a stranger is first seen a dress is always presented; I should displease Sundun Begum by my refusal; besides, it would be deemed an ill omen at the Mugganee of the young Bohue Begum if I did not put on the native dress before I saw the face of the bride elect.' These I found to be weighty arguments, and felt constrained to quiet their apprehensions of ill-luck by compliance; I therefore forced the gold dress and the glittering drapery over my other clothes, at the expense of some suffering from the heat, for it was at the very hottest season of the year, and the dulhaun was crowded with visitors.

"This important point conceded to them, I was led to a side hall, where the little girl was seated on her carpet of rich embroidery, her face resting on her knees in apparent bashfulness. I could not directly ascertain whether she was plain, or pretty, as the female agent had represented. I was allowed the privilege of decorating the young lady with the sweet jessamine guinahs, and placing the ring on the forefinger of the right hand; after which, the ear-rings, the gold-tissue dress, the deputtah were all in their turn put on, the offering of money presented, and then I had the first embrace before her mother. She looked very pretty, just turned twelve. If I could have prevailed on her to be cheerful, I should have been much gratified to have extended my visit in her apartment, but the poor child seemed ready to sink with timidity; and out of compassion to the dear girl, I hurried away from the hall, to relieve her from the burden my presence seemed to inflict, the moment I had accomplished my last duty, which was to feed her with my own hand, giving her seven pieces of sugarcandy; seven, on this occasion, is the lucky number, I presume, as I was particularly cautioned to feed her with exactly that number of pieces."—vol. i. pp. 359—362.

In the medical art, the Mussulmauns still retain many superstitious practices, and sundry remnants of Astrology continue to find place in their Pharmacopœia. In nervous cases and for palpitations of the heart the patient is often recommended to "drink the moon at a draught," which remedy is thus administered; a silver basin filled with water is so held as to receive the reflection of the full moon; and the sick person after having looked steadfastly at the image, is to shut his eyes and to swallow the water at a draught. "I have seen this practised," says Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, adding with exquisite simplicity, "but I am not aware of any real benefit derived by the patient from the prescription." We wish that in one or two other medical notices this lady would write *boils* instead of "*biles*;" and we must ask her forgiveness if we hesitate in granting immediate assent to the account of the gentleman who commencing with a single grain of pure quicksilver increased the quantity progressively "till his daily dose was the contents of a *large table spoon*." Once admitting the fact, we can feel little doubt (if we may be permitted so

vile a pun) that the effects of the medicine were highly *mercurial*; and it is consequently without surprise that we learn "his appetite and spirits were those of a man of thirty when he had counted eighty years."

But the most astounding story of all is one related by a Musulmaan gentleman of his own achievements in exorcism. The conversation arose in consequence of an attack upon an old woman in the streets of Lucknow, who, as a reputed Witch, was declared to be "eating the heart" of a man and his child wasting away under her incantations. She was rescued after some difficulty, and not till her accuser had been permitted to pluck some hairs from her head as an antidote to her charms. A friend of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali, who had been the chief agent in this poor wretch's deliverance from the infuriated rabble, afterwards declared his implicit belief in the common practice of Witchcraft; and added that he himself had been a chosen instrument through which several women had been relieved from possession by Evil Spirits. Curiosity on this mysterious point had induced him, when a very young man, to apply to "a certain venerable personage who was willing to impart his knowledge;" and who recommended in the first instance two years seclusion from the world, in abstinence, prayer, and austerity. Thus prepared for practice, and having acquired a great reputation as a Dervise, his first experiment was tried on a respectable woman who fancied that she was visited by a Demon regularly, on every eighth day. The only apparatus with which the Fiend was attacked was fumigation; and no sooner were the drugs and flowers of the Exorcist sprinkled on the chafing dish than the Demon became furious in the woman, and called out loudly for mercy. To an interrogation as to who and what it was, it replied that it was the Spirit of an Old Woman who once inhabited the same house; and that it had taken possession of the wife in order to torment the husband, who was the present owner of the premises. It may be remarked that few Ghosts, even in Europe, ever give more satisfactory reasons for their appearance than did this Imp of Hindústan; insomuch that we might almost venture to pledge ourselves to a belief in the authenticity of any Spectre who could once prove on sound evidence that he came back to this world on other than a Fee-faw-fum errand. The exorcist threatened to destroy the Spirit in fire, and the poor woman's agony immediately became so terrific that instant death was apprehended. After two hours conversation, during which the Devil evinced the extent of his knowledge by twice informing the Dervise what was the substance which he held concealed in his clenched hand; and also avowed his belief in one God the Creator of all things; it agreed to a compromise, and on condition of

being relieved from the fiery torment, it promised faithfully to quit the woman and to go out into the forests. During several months afterwards the freed energumen enjoyed health and tranquillity. But on the reappearance of some former symptoms the aid of the Dervise was again required; and then by destroying the "Evil Soul," he gave his patient permanent ease. It is but just to Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali to state that although convinced of the sincerity of the friend from whose lips she received this choice piece of autobiography, she plainly believes him to have laboured under delusion.

But it is high time to direct ourselves to Captain Mundy with whom we shall commence in his first Tiger-hunt in the Dooab. The party consisted of ten sportsmen, each mounted on an Elephant, and twenty pad Elephants besides, to carry the guides and the game. On rousing the first tiger, every elephant but that of Lord Combermere turned about and made off expeditiously; the beast, however, was killed, and so, not long afterwards, was a second; a third sprang on the upper part of the tail of one of the elephants and clung to it with its teeth, within six inches of the unhappy Coolie, who stood behind the howdah; and it was not shot till the elephant had been so much injured that it died within ten days from the effect of its wounds.

The second essay in this agreeable pastime was attended with far more danger than the first, and the double fences and swollen brooks of Leicestershire sink into insignificance before the perils of the Jungle.

"On clearing the wood, we entered an open space of marshy grass, not three feet high; a large herd of cattle were feeding there, and the herdsman was sitting, singing, under a bush—when, just as the former began to move before us, up sprang the very tiger to whom our visit was intended, and cantered off across a bare plain, dotted with small patches of bush-jungle. He took to the open country in a style which would have more become a fox than a tiger, who is expected by his pursuers to fight, and not to run; and, as he was flushed on the flank of the line, only one bullet was fired at him ere he cleared the thick grass. He was unhurt, and we pursued him at full speed. Twice he threw us out by stopping short in small strips of jungle, and then heading back after we had passed; and he had given us a very fast burst of about two miles, when Colonel Arnold, who led the field, at last reached him by a capital shot, his elephant being in full career. As soon as he felt himself wounded, the tiger crept into a close thicket of trees and bushes, and crouched. The two leading sportsmen overran the spot where he lay, and as I came up I saw him through an aperture rising to attempt a charge. My mahout had just before, in the heat of the chase, dropped his ankoos*, which I had refused to

* Iron goad to drive the elephant.

allow him to recover; and the elephant being notoriously savage, and further irritated by the goading he had undergone, became, consequently, unmanageable:—he appeared to see the tiger as soon as myself, and I had only time to fire one shot, when he suddenly rushed with the greatest fury into the thicket, and falling upon his knees, nailed the tiger with his tusks to the ground. Such was the violence of the shock, that my servant, who sat behind in the kawas,* was thrown out, and one of my guns went overboard. The struggles of the elephant to crush his still resisting foe, who had fixed one paw on his eye, were so energetic, that I was obliged to hold on with all my strength, to keep myself in the howdah. The second barrel, too, of the gun, which I still retained in my hand, went off in the scuffle, the ball passing close to the mahout's ear, whose situation, poor fellow, was anything but enviable. As soon as my elephant was prevailed upon to leave the killing part of the business to the sportsmen, they gave the roughly-used tiger the coup-de-grace. It was a very fine female, with the most beautiful skin I ever saw."—vol. i. pp. 160—163.

Nor was the sportsman's repose less hazardous than his situation in the field. On the night after these exploits he was awakened by the attack of a black robber in his tent, who escaped pursuit with no other booty than a razor, a pot of pomatum, and a pair of brass candlesticks.

A few days afterwards a brother officer was brought home having marvellously escaped from the very jaws of a tiger. He was shooting in a jungle, the reputation of which would be deemed evil or good, according to the taste of its frequenters, for it abounded in wild beasts; and he had just fired both barrels at a deer, when a tiger sprung from a thicket and knocked him down. Fortunately, the animal, instead of seizing the sportsman's head, caught in his mouth the gun which he was carrying on his shoulder; and finding the morsel somewhat tough, he relinquished it and bounded on. The officer was much torn on the shoulders and breast, one cheek was pierced through, he found the fragment of a shivered tiger-tooth in his waistcoat pocket, and the barrel of his gun was distinctly marked by the whole range of tusks which had embraced it. Nevertheless, Captain Mundy, unappalled, was once more in the field a few days afterwards. A cub and its mother soon filled his bag, and a second cub was obliged to be knocked on the head after one of the party had failed to take it alive, by dismounting from his elephant and receiving the little Fury's charge with no other weapon than his mountain-dagger.

Captain Mundy's tour in the Surnour mountains will be read with great interest; the difficulties which he encountered, and the good humour with which he overcame them, are related with much spirit and vivacity. But we prefer offering our readers

* Hind seat in the howdah.

one or two specimens of living manners. The first shall be Anglo-Indian, the second, native. One of the most distinguished corps of irregular cavalry in Hindústan is commanded by Colonel Skinner, who served with high reputation under Lords Lake and Hastings, and was enrolled K.C.B. for his conduct at the siege of Bhurtpore. He is described as an amiable man and a gallant soldier, who has seen forty years of very chequered adventures; and who, in his youth, was partizan of more than one native Power.

"In this Cossack-like life he was joined by a near relation—since dead—who was as valiant a warrior as himself; but he was a man of wild and ungoverned passions, and the last scene of his life was Othello exaggerated! Having suspected his wife, a native lady, of infidelity to his bed, he surrendered himself to the bloody suggestions of the green-eyed monster; murdered her and her two female attendants, and concluded the tragedy by blowing out his own brains. His passion for the sex, and extravagance in expense knew no bounds; of which addictions the following anecdote, related to me this day, affords no bad instance.

"Being present at a grand entertainment given by some native prince at Delhi, he became desperately *épris* of a young and beautiful nautch-girl, a slave of the prince's wife; and at the close of the *fête* he seized her by force, and carried her off to Hansi. Being pursued by some troops from Delhi, he shut himself in his house, which was soon surrounded by a force that rendered resistance hopeless; when, rather than yield up his charmer, he offered to purchase her for her weight in silver. The bargain was struck, the scales produced, and the maiden being weighed against rupees, the ravisher retained his prize."—vol. i. pp. 341—343.

The Begum Sumroo, of whom we shall next speak, if her lot had been cast in Russia, might have rivalled the Empress Catherine.

"The history of her life, if properly known, would (according to Colonel Skinner, and others who have had opportunities of hearing of, and witnessing her exploits) form a series of scenes, such as, perhaps, no other female could have gone through.

"The above mentioned officer has often, during his service with the Mahrattas, seen her, then a beautiful young woman, leading on her troops to the attack in person, and displaying, in the midst of carnage, the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind. The Begum has been twice married, and both her husbands were Europeans. Her appellation of 'Sumroo' is a corruption of the French word *Sombre*, the *nom de guerre* of her first lord, Remaud, who *bought* her when a young and handsome dancing-girl; married, and converted her to the Roman Catholic religion. Her second husband—named Le Vassu—was an independent, roving adventurer, a sort of land pirate; became power-

ful in his own right, if right it can be called, and possessed a considerable army. It is of this man that the following anecdote is related, which is 'wondrous strange—if it be true:' it was the closing scene of his life, and the first in which our heroine played any very distinguished part. I have said that her husband had become possessed of wealth, power, and a numerous army; of these his ambitious wife coveted the undivided possession, and she thus accomplished her purpose.

"A mutinous disposition, on the subject of pay, having manifested itself among Le Vassu's body guard, the Begum, then about twenty-five, exaggerated the danger to her husband, and got intelligence conveyed to him that the rebels had formed a plan to seize and confine him, and to dishonour his wife. They, consequently, arranged to escape together from the fury of the soldiery; and at night started secretly from their palace in palankeens, with only a few devoted guards and attendants. The whole of the following scene was projected by the ambitious and bloody-minded lady. Towards morning the attendants, in great alarm, announced that they were pursued; and our heroine, in well feigned despair, vowed that, if their escort was overcome and the palankeens stopped, she would stab herself to the heart. The devoted husband, as she expected, swore he would not survive her. Soon after, the pretended rebels came up, and, after a short skirmish, drove back the attendants, and forced the bearers to put down the palankeens. At this instant La Vassu heard a scream, and his wife's female slave rushed up to him, bearing a shawl drenched in blood, and exclaiming that her mistress had stabbed herself to death. The husband, true to his vow, instantly seized a pistol, and blew out his own brains. No sooner did the wily lady hear the welcome report, than she started from her palankeen, and, for the first time exposing herself to the gaze of men, claimed homage from the soldiery. This her beauty, and promises of speedy payment of arrears, soon obtained for her; and she assumed, in due form, the reins of government.

"Well knowing, however, that so inconsiderable a state as her's could not exist long in those troublesome times without some formidable ally, she prudently threw herself under the protection of the Company, who confirmed her in the possession, with the condition that it should revert to the English government after her death. The old lady seems disposed to make the most of her life-lease. Her revenue is, I believe, one hundred thousand pounds sterling, and she has amassed considerable treasures. I never heard how her other husband was disposed of, but we will, in charity, suppose that he died a natural death. His tomb is at Agra.

"During her long life, many acts of inhuman cruelty towards her dependents have transpired; one of which is thus narrated:—The Begum, having discovered a slave-girl in an intrigue, condemned her to be buried alive. This cruel sentence was carried into execution; and the fate of the beautiful victim having excited strong feelings of compassion, the old tigress, to preclude all chance of a rescue, ordered her carpet to be spread over the vault, and smoked her *houkah*, and slept on the spot; thus making assurance doubly sure."—vol. i. pp. 370—374.

Captain Mundy pointedly affirms, respecting the Cholera, that "he never heard even so much as the possibility of its contagion canvassed." Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali expresses herself to the same purpose, but more intelligibly, when, in speaking of the close attendance paid to the sick, and the rigid observance of the ordinary duties to the dead, which the Mussulmauns never omit in these cases, she says, "no fears were ever entertained, nor did I ever hear an opinion expressed among them, that it had been or could be conveyed from one person to another. Abstemiousness is the great Mussulmaun remedy; and Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali administered with success a medicine, the character of which may be readily understood when we name brandy, oil of peppermint, and black pepper, to be the principal ingredients. Native children generally escaped the attack, and she never heard an instance of an infant being in the slightest degree visited by the malady. Saffron to the amount of twelve grains, moistened with rose-water (a very favourite vehicle) is used with great benefit for the relief of the sickness which accompanies this melancholy disease.

We cannot part from Captain Mundy without expressing the pleasure which we have derived from one minor characteristic of his pages, the keen remembrance of early associations with which they are imbued. The graceful figure of a Hindú girl bearing her water-vessel on her head, reminds him that she has *not* the rosy cheeks and elbows of his native Derbyshire milkmaids.* When the divers in the Bowlee at Delhi, plunged from their fearful height into the cold water of the tank below, the scenes present to Captain Mundy's imagination were *Lion's Leap*, *Bargeman's Bridge*, and *Deadman's Hole*, which (*si parva licet*) he had often, in like manner, dared at Eton. For the measurement of a small eminence, he refers to the barrow on Salt-hill; and in order to estimate a given space covered by public buildings at Mohim, he calls up to memory that which is overspread by the "sacred spires and antique towers" founded by the VIth Henry. These are instances of genuine kindness and good feeling; and, we may add, that in spite of a little occasional exuberance, Captain Mundy's overflowing animal spirits never in a single passage betray him into a violation of strict decorum. The pages of Mrs. Meer Hassan Ali herself are more grave, but pure as they are, they are not more pure than those of the young and rattling Aide-de-Camp.

* On a reference to the passage itself we find we have been too picturesque. The images of the Derbyshire milkmaids were called up by seeing the teats of the British resident's cows at Lucknow rudely handled by the dairyman, "mustachioed and half uaked natives."

ART. VI.—*Sketches from Venetian History*. 2 vols. London: Murray. 1832.

THIS work does not profess to be a full and regular History of Venice, but, as its name implies, to consist only of Sketches of the most prominent and picturesque features that mark her annals. The different transactions, however, are so skilfully connected, that the reader goes on without being sensible of any *hiatus* in the story; and in the mean time those parts of the history which are chosen for the narrative, are related with so much fulness and particularity, that we seem to be reading the work rather of some cotemporary chronicler, than of a professed systematic historian.

Now we do not wish to see all history written in this way: for it would not always be safe to trust either to the taste or the discretion of the historian for what was to be related and fully described, and what was to be slightly passed over or omitted. But the taste and discretion of the historian being supposed, this plan has many recommendations on the score of pleasure and amusement, at least, if not on that of more solid instruction. Some persons read history with one object in view and some with another. If the reader's object is to learn the causes of events, or to penetrate the abstract principles of human society, or to watch the effect of different laws on the wealth and happiness of communities, the duller tracts of history, and those least marked by the influence of individual character or extraordinary achievement, will be found most to abound in instruction. But this is not commonly the object for which people in general take up history. The mass of readers and purchasers of books seek from them no other advantage than amusement for their leisure, or refreshment from the fatigue of business:—knowing at the same time that the pleasure derived from books, if they be tolerably chosen, is not a pleasure which ceases with the mere momentary enjoyment they afford, nor a pleasure wholly devoid of more important improvement. To the general reader, then, we think that the plan adopted by our author in these Venetian Sketches has many recommendations. So far as the advantage of the reader himself is concerned, there is no benefit he can receive from history, or indeed from books of any kind, so great as that he may derive by being made to sympathize with the feelings of the historian, (if he be such a person as an historian should be,) while describing those great transactions of past times, in which the passions of mankind, their good and bad qualities, are especially called forth; but, at all events, there can be no question, that a plan which professes only to relate such transactions at

full length, and to pass over rapidly those times and actions which are not distinguished by any peculiar features, is a plan which promises more delight and pleasure, in a short compass, than could be afforded upon the ordinary plan of writing history. However, be this method good or bad, it is the method which has been adopted in the work before us; and we run no risk in saying that, whatever advantages it possesses, the author has very successfully availed himself of them. His object plainly has been to do exactly what the name of his book implies, and which is so often accomplished by painters. It is not an abridgment of Venetian history (though his work has been brought within the compass of an abridgment) that we have before us; the author has transferred to history that which is the principle on which a good picture is composed, where all the inferior agents and circumstances are hinted at in the back ground, and only the principal action, and the two or three leading personages, put prominently forward and distinctly portrayed. It is an experiment perfectly new in the extent to which it is here tried; and the success of it, in our author's hands at least, has been so great, that we hope he will be induced to persevere in the attractive path which he has chalked out for himself with so much taste and skill.

Having made these general remarks upon the author, and his method of composition, we now come to the task which remains to us—of conveying to our reader some knowledge of the work itself.

Considering the important place which the Venetian state has occupied in the history of modern Europe, and the frequent allusions made to her city and people in poetry and romance, it is somewhat surprising that the work before us should be the only work in our language, which we are acquainted with, that pretends to be a history of this remarkable republic. The works of Paruka, Torcarini, Sanuti, and Contarini, have been “done into English;” but the translations are very old, and there are few readers of the present day who have probably met with them: both the translations themselves, and the names of the translators, have been forgotten, though one of them was a name of no less importance than that of an Earl of Monmouth. No nation of modern Europe, however, has been more rich in native historians, or affords a greater variety of original documents from which an authentic history may be formed. To say nothing of the abundant store of materials to be found in the collections of Muratori—most of them cotemporary documents, and many of them the productions of persons who were eye-witnesses, and often sharers in the events they relate—the conquest of Venice by the French has put the public in possession of information upon many points

which were before very imperfectly known, by opening an access to sources of knowledge, rich in materials, but which had up to that time been scrupulously guarded from the public eye. It is from these sources that Daru, in his valuable history, has drawn so largely, to whose work and Sismondi's the author of these *Sketches* professes to be largely indebted. But though indebted to these writers for many facts not to be found in Venetian authors, yet still it is from these last that the thread of the narrative is drawn. The documents that have been brought to light from the archives of the ancient Venetian government, relate more to the motives of its rulers, and to the maxims and principles by which they were guided, than to the events themselves with which history is concerned. And it is the peculiar and characteristic merit of these "*Sketches*," that the writer always endeavours to place his reader in a situation to see and hear what was thought and felt by those who lived at the time, and who witnessed the facts which he describes. Many of the transactions are given in the very words of cotemporary writers; and the reflections, commonly those of the persons who were present at the busy scenes which the historian endeavours to sketch. The effect of this is, that a conviction of truth is created in the mind of the reader beyond that which is produced by almost any history we are acquainted with; and at the same time a dramatic effect is given to the narrative as vivid and delightful as any that could be derived from the most skilful fiction. It is difficult to verify or exemplify the character which we are giving of the style of narration adopted in these volumes, by a selection of extracts. The very merit of the style, and the effect we are speaking of, is produced by the minuteness and completeness of the description—by putting the scenes and actors before the reader:—all that was done and said, or believed to have been done and said at the time, so far as there is the authority of cotemporary documents for supposing. Now although this is an admirable method for giving the reader a real and lively conception of the manners and opinions of the time, yet it supposes any quality rather than brevity; but if the reader wishes to understand and appreciate the characteristic merit of these admirable historical sketches, let him turn to the account which is given of the siege of Constantinople by the Crusaders, at the third chapter of the first volume.

We take this passage in preference to many others, because there is in Gibbon a description of the same event, which has been considered, and very justly, to possess extraordinary merit. If the reader will first read that description, and then turn to the same transaction related by our author, he will then better appreciate the skill and peculiar merit of the last.

After describing the election of Dandolo, a blind old man of eighty, to be Doge, the author proceeds to relate the embassy which was sent by the Crusaders of France, with Geoffrey de Villehardouin, the Marshal of Champagne, at their head, to obtain the assistance of Venice towards this sacred attempt for the recovery of the Holy Land :

“The letters of credence with which the envoys had been intrusted required the doge and senate of Venice to place as entire confidence in these representatives, as in the barons themselves by whom they were deputed. Dandolo accordingly received them with distinguished honour, and acknowledging that, with the exception of crowned kings, the princes who had sent them were the most powerful in Christendom, he demanded their object. They answered by requesting an assembly of the council before which it might be declared ; and, in an audience granted four days afterwards, they thus expressed themselves : ‘Sir, we are come to thee from the most potent barons of France, who have put on the sign of the cross to avenge the wrongs of Jesus Christ, and to recover Jerusalem, if such be the will of God ; and, because they know that no nation has the power of you and your people, they implore you, in God’s name, to look with pity upon the Holy Land, and, by supplying them with ships and means for their passage thither, to join with them in avenging the shame of our Redeemer.’ ‘On what conditions,’ demanded the doge ?’ ‘On any conditions,’ replied the envoys, ‘which you may think proper to impose, provided they are within our power.’ ‘Certes,’ said the doge, ‘the request is no slight one, and the enterprise itself is of vast magnitude ; we will return you an answer in eight days ; and wonder not that we ask so long a time, for a thing of this importance needs much deliberation.’

“At the expiration of the time appointed, the doge announced the conditions on which he would assent to the proposal : prefacing this declaration with a statement which proves that it was not yet considered safe to neglect the body of the people, in the decision of important questions of state. Provided he could obtain the concurrence of the great council and of the commons of the city, he agreed to furnish palanders for the transport of four thousand five hundred horses, and nine thousand esquires ; ships for four thousand five hundred knights and twenty thousand serjeants on foot. Nine months’ provisions were to be supplied to this armament, at the rate of four marks for every horse, two for every man. The engagements were to continue in force for one whole year, from the day of departure from the port of Venice, into whatever realms the service of God and Christendom might lead them ; and the sum demanded for this assistance was eighty-five thousand marks. As an allurement to the completion of the bargain, Dandolo promised to equip, in addition, fifty galleys for the love of God, and free of expense, but with this important reservation, that so long as the alliance continued,

all conquests made by sea or land should be divided equally between the contracting parties.

“The ambassadors demanded a single night for the consideration of this truly mercantile offer; and on the morrow they assented to it. The proposition was then submitted to the different bodies whose consent was deemed necessary. In the end, the general assembly was convoked; and, in the presence of more than ten thousand citizens, the Mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in the cathedral of St. Mark, where God was implored to inspire them to do his pleasure in respect of the demands of the ambassadors. When the Mass was over, the doge sent to the ambassadors, desiring that they would humbly move the people to the conclusion of the treaty. The ambassadors accordingly repaired to the church, and were eagerly regarded by those who had not yet beheld them; while Villehardouin spoke by consent for the rest, and said—‘Signiors, the most high and powerful barons of France have sent us to Venice to implore you to look with pity on the Holy City which is in bondage to the Infidels, and for God’s sake to join with them in avenging the wrongs of Jesus Christ. They turn to you because they know none others so powerful on the seas, and they have enjoined us to kneel at your feet until you have granted their prayers, and have compassion upon the land over the sea.’ The six ambassadors then fell upon their knees, with many tears, and the doge and the people waved their hands and cried aloud with one voice, ‘We consent, we consent.’ The acclamations and tumult were so great that it seemed the earth shook; and when that great heart-moving cry, which exceeded all human experience, had subsided, the doge mounted the pulpit and spoke to the people as follows: ‘Behold, signiors, the honour which the Lord has shown you, in disposing the bravest warriors upon earth to seek your alliance, in preference to that of all other nations, in so high an enterprize as the rescue of the tomb of our Lord.’”—vol. i. pp. 86—89.

We shall pass over the intermediate events,—the capture of Zara, the dispute and affray among the Crusaders, the schism created among the leaders by the opposition of the Pope to the enterprize against Zara, as well as to that against Constantinople, and pass on to the embarkation at Corfu, when the whole fleet set sail from the Adriatic to the Dardanelles:—

“This compact having been ratified and sworn to, they re-embarked, and quitted Corfu on the eve of Pentecost. The martial spirit of Villehardouin is kindled afresh upon the renewal of activity. ‘The day,’ he says, ‘was bright and cheerful, and the winds were soft and favourable, as they spread their sails before them. And I, Geoffrey, the Marshal of Champagne, who have dictated this recital, having been present at the matters therein related, and conscious that it contains nothing but truth, bear witness that so glorious a sight had never been beheld before. Far as our view could extend, the sea was covered with the sails of ship and galley: our hearts were lifted

up with joy, and we thought our armament might undertake the conquest of the whole world.' Nor was this the impression of such only as held command. While doubling the promontory of Malea, they fell in with two vessels filled with knights, pilgrims, and serjeants returning from the Holy Land. They were some of those who had departed from their agreement of meeting at Venice, and were now ashamed to declare themselves. The Count of Flanders sent his barge to inquire their destination and quality; and, as it approached the vessels, a serjeant, struck by the gallant bearing of the fleet before him, leaped on board, and cried out to his less enthusiastic comrades, 'Give me my baggage, for I shall join these people who appear certain of subduing the land!'

"Negropont, Andros, and Abydos received them as peaceably as Durazzo; and the Byzantine court, lost in sloth and luxury, either disbelieved or disregarded the news of their approach. No secrecy had been affected: both the measures taken by the exiled prince, and the consequent design of the Crusaders, had been long openly avowed; and it ought to have been easy for Greece, formed by nature a maritime power, and at that time sharing with Venice the dominion of the seas, to have made some great effort before her capital was besieged. It has been said that, but a few years before this invasion, the dock-yards of Constantinople could furnish one thousand six hundred vessels of war. Admitting the number to be exaggerated, the very exaggeration testifies the greatness of her naval resources. But the emperor, devoted to ease and sensuality, had intrusted his arsenals to a brother-in-law, by whose base cupidity the state was crippled. Stores, arms, equipments—the very hulks themselves—had been broken up and sold to swell the private wealth of Michael Stryphnus; and, when the rumour of impending danger prompted him to restore the navy which he had destroyed, he was forbidden to lift an axe in the forests, reserved, as he was informed by their guardian eunuchs, not for the lowly provision of ship-timber, but for the more exalted pleasures of the Imperial chase.

"The huge and heavy-laden armament of the Crusaders proceeded through the intricate navigation of the Archipelago, and threaded the narrow strait of the Dardanelles, without hindrance or interruption. As the sea of Marmora widened before them, its bosom, covered with sails, presented a sight of incomparable beauty; till, three leagues short of Constantinople, they neared the land, and obtained their first view of that great and gorgeous metropolis. Their feelings cannot be doubted; nor can they be better expressed than in the words of that eye-witness who so deeply shared them. 'When they contemplated the lofty walls and goodly towers that enclosed it around, the gay palaces and glittering churches that seemed innumerable, the immense dimensions of the city denoting it was the Queen of the Earth, they could hardly believe their senses; nor was there any man, however bold, whose heart did not tremble within him. This was no marvel; for never since the creation of the world had such an enterprise been attempted by such a handful of men.'

“The prudence of Dandolo saved them from destruction in the outset. The barons landed, and held a council in the Minster of St. Stephen’s, a pleasant village, still known to us by its former name, and now chiefly distinguished by its immense powder magazines. It can be no matter of surprise that some impatience was expressed for an immediate general disembarkation; but, in opposition to this wish, the doge advanced his own former knowledge and experience of the country. The continent, he said, was of vast extent and thickly peopled, and the soldiers, being in want of provisions, would scatter themselves over it, in foraging parties, and be cut off in detail. Far better would it be to make for the islands in sight, and, having there refreshed themselves, to proceed at once to the attack of the city. This advice prevailed. They passed the night at anchor, and on the morrow, the Feast of St. John the Baptist, having displayed their banners and standards on the turrets, and fenced the sides of their vessels with a *paravissade* of shields close locked together, each man cast a glance upon his arms, well knowing that the time was at hand when he would need their assistance. As they set sail, the wind bore them within a bow-shot of Constantinople, and some of the ships were assailed with missiles from the throngs which clustered on its walls and towers. It is probable, although Villehardouin is far from confessing it, that a slight confusion ensued, for he admits that they abandoned their design on the islands as completely as if it had never been proposed; and, without loss of time, crossed over to the Asiatic shore, and anchored off Chalcedon, where one of the fairest palaces of the emperor received the generals, and the troops were disembarked and encamped. On the following morning, the fleet sailed onward to Scutari, immediately opposite to Constantinople, and was followed thither by the army. The Greeks, on the European shore, made a corresponding movement, and encamped on the outskirts of Pera.”—vol. i. pp. 109—113.

The history then goes on to relate the incidents that took place during the nine days passed at Scutari, and passes to the landing of the Crusaders at Galata, and the investment of Constantinople itself:—

“On the tenth morning (July 6) after their arrival, it was resolved to attempt the passage of the Bosphorus; and the part selected was not far below the spot ennobled by the Bridge of Darius. Before they addressed themselves to this dangerous enterprise, for such, previously to the event, it might justly be considered, mass was celebrated in the presence of the whole army. The bishops and clergy exhorted their people, instructing them that in this extremity, in which none could foresee what might be God’s pleasure concerning him, it was the duty of every one to confess his sins and dispose of his worldly possessions. This counsel was received with fervent zeal and devotion. At length, the appointed moment having arrived, the vanguard embarked under the command of Count Baldwin, who was followed by more good lances, archers, and cross-bowmen than any

other lord of the army. Four other divisions succeeded, respectively led by Henry, brother of the Count of Flanders, the Counts of St. Paul and Blois, and Matthew of Montmorency. In the last were enrolled Villehardouin himself and the flower of the Gallic chivalry: The largest band, Lombards, Tuscans, Germans and Piedmontese, composed the rear, which was intrusted to the Marquis of Montferrat. The mass of soldiery crowded the heavy vessels under the guidance and protection of the galleys; and the knights, armed from head to foot, with their horses ready housed and saddled, entered the palanders. As the day advanced, the sun shone brightly, and displayed Alexius with his countless hosts awaiting the onset on the opposite shore. The trumpets sounded, and the galleys moved forward, each towing a heavier transport; none asked who was to be foremost, but every man pushed on with all his might to land. As they neared the western bank, the knights started up from the palanders, and, armed as they were, helm-laced, and lance in hand, leaped baldrick-deep into the sea. Nor were the archers, serjeants, and arbelestriers less eager than their lords, each company forming on the spot where their vessels touched the ground; and the Greeks, after a faint show of resistance, fled before the lances crossed each other. As soon as the shore was cleared, the ports were opened, the bridges let down from the palanders, and, the horses having disembarked, the knights mounted, and the six divisions formed according to preconcerted order. The van, under Count Baldwin, advanced to the camp from which Alexius had beheld their landing; it was already abandoned, and afforded a rich booty to the conquerors. For the night, they took post near the Tower of Galata, in a quarter named Stenon, which was at that time, as it is now under its modern denomination *Hassa Kai*, allotted to the Jews. At dawn of the following day, they repulsed a sortie from the tower, and, gaining possession of its gate before the fugitives were able to close it, they stormed the castle with great slaughter, and established themselves within its walls. The possession of this fortress materially assisted the operations against the harbour, the mouth of which it commanded. A favourable breeze sprang up, and the Venetian galleys, setting all sail, bore down upon the huge chain, without molestation from the shore. For a while it resisted the shock, and the mariners endeavoured, but in vain, to sever its massive links with gigantic shears constructed for the purpose. At length, one vessel more fortunate than its mates, and realizing the good omen of its name, *The Eagle* (*l'Aquila*), succeeded in breaking through the boom. The whole navy triumphantly followed, and the total destruction of the little squadron opposed to it ensued. Some of the vessels were instantly captured, some ran under the city walls and were sunk, after having been abandoned by their crews, many of whom clung to the fragments of the broken chain, still suspended from its palisades, and gained the land by swarming along them as on a rope."

"After four days' rest, the fleet moved up the harbour, and the land-forces advanced at the same time along the shore, in order to

round the head of the gulf, and take post under the walls. A march of about seven miles brought them to the extremity of the Golden Horn, where the little rivers Barbyzes and Cydaris, uniting their beds, discharge themselves, by a single channel, into a small bay; which, from the purity of its waters and its abundant produce of fish, is known to modern ears as *Les Eaux douces*; a far more picturesque title than that given it by the Turks, *Kiat-hanè*, or by the present Greeks, *Kartaricos*, both of which names refer only to the paper-mills now deforming the beauty of the scene. The passage of these streams might have been easily defended; but the Greeks had been contented to break down the stone bridge which traversed them, and to retire within their walls. A day and a night completed its reparation, and though the besieged, at the lowest estimate, outnumbered the besiegers in the proportion of twenty to one, they looked on without venturing to oppose. The six divisions passed the river in succession, and sat down before the city. Too few for a regular investment, it was but a single gate (probably that which is now known as *Egri Kapoussi*) against which they were able to direct their efforts. The position chosen for their camp was at the north-western angle, between the Palace of Blachernæ and the Castle of Boemond, and here they were laboriously employed in bringing up their artillery, constructing their works, and planting their scorpions, catapults, mangonels, and perrieres. Few moments could be snatched for repose, for they were harassed by perpetual sallies, and they could not eat, nor rest, nor sleep, except in arms. The attacks were renewed six or seven times each day; and many of them, headed by Theodore Lascaris, a son-in-law of the Emperor, who was destined to great subsequent distinction, occasioned severe loss. Often, however, did they chase back the Greeks under their very walls, till they were themselves forced to retreat from the volleys of stones hurled upon them by the garrison. The more effectually to secure their camp, they fortified it with stout barriers and palisades. But an enemy, carrying greater terror than the swords of the Greeks, threatened to commence its inroads, and their situation increased in peril every hour. They dared not forage beyond four bow-shots from their tents, and even then only in large parties. Their fresh provisions having been exhausted, they had recourse to their horses, and when these had been killed, and this resource failed also, a little meal and a little salted meat now constituted their whole store. Their supplies, even of this kind, at the commencement of this most extraordinary siege, had not been calculated for more than three weeks' consumption.

"Ten days out of that period had passed away; and their greatest hazard was exposure to farther delay. Their preparations were completed on the land side, and the Venetians were equally ready in the harbour; so that, on the morning of the 17th of July, four of the six divisions advanced from the camp, headed by the Count of Flanders and his brother, the Counts of Blois and of St. Paul, while the reserve of Champagners and Burgundians, under the Marquis of Montferrat and Matthew de Montmorency, kept guard over the camp.

Much injury had already been suffered by the outer wall, against which the united force of not less than two hundred and fifty engines had been directed; and the ponderous stones which they were constructed to hurl had, in many instances, reached and destroyed parts of the splendid architecture within the city itself. Two ladders were successfully raised against a barbican, defended chiefly by a band of Pisans whom hatred of Venice had attached to the Emperor, and by a ruder and yet more formidable battalion, celebrated in Byzantine history as *Varangi*, and called by Villehardouin Danes and English. They were, probably, the descendants of Saxons or of Anglo-Danes, who had fled from England, nearly a century and a half before, to escape the tyranny consequent upon the Norman conquest, and who having tendered their services to the first Alexius, and given ample proofs of their strength and valour, were formed into an imperial body guard as early as the year 1081. Their weapon was a ponderous battle-axe, a more than equal match for even the double-handed sword of the Crusaders; yet, in spite of these barbarians, for such they were not unjustly considered, a gallant handful of fifteen warriors, all, except two of them, knights, gained the summit of the wall; but, before they could be supported, the defenders rallied and drove them back. Two, says Villehardouin, remained prisoners, and were carried before the Emperor Alexius, to his singular gratification. He had not participated in the combat, but looked on from the summit of a lofty tower. Many other of the assailants were grievously hurt or wounded, and, the attack having entirely failed, the French retired to their camp, broken and dispirited.

“The Venetians had been far more successful. In their preparations they had displayed extraordinary skill, and exhausted every branch of military art then known. Their decks were crowded with warlike engines, and protected from the effects of fire by a thick covering of ox-hides; and, in order to gain the ramparts, they had framed rope-ladders, which could be let down, at will, from the extremities of the yard-arms, and which, from their great height, overtopped the city walls. These drawbridges, as they neared the shore, were lowered, and poured forth swarms of combatants upon the heads of the astonished garrison. But their triumph must be told in the dramatic words of Villehardouin. ‘Their vessels, marshalled in a line which extended more than three bow-shots, began to approach the towers, and the wall which stretched along the shore. The mangonels were planted upon the decks, and the flights of arrows and quarrels were numberless, yet those within the city valiantly defended their posts. The ladders on the ships approached the walls so closely that in many places it became a combat of sword and lance, and the shouts were so great that they were enough to shake sea and earth; but the galleys, notwithstanding, could find no opportunity of reaching the land. Now you shall hear of the dauntless valour of the Duke of Venice; who, old and blind as he was, stood upon the prow of his galley, with the standard of St. Mark spread before him, urging his people to push on to the shore on peril of his high displeasure.

By wondrous exertions, they ran the galley ashore, and, leaping out, bore the banner of St. Mark before him on the land. When the Venetians saw the banner of St. Mark on the land, and that their Duke's galley had been the first to touch the ground, they pushed on in shame and emulation; and the men of the palanders sprang to land, in rivalry with each other, and commenced a furious assault. And I, Geoffry de Villehardouin, Marshal of Champagne, the author of this work, affirm, that it was asserted by more than forty persons, that they beheld the banner of St. Mark planted upon one of the towers, and none could tell by what hand it was planted there; at which miraculous sight, the besieged fled and deserted the walls, while the invaders rushed in headlong, striving who should be foremost; seized upon twenty-five of the towers, and garrisoned them with their soldiers. And the Duke despatched a boat with the news of his success to the Barons of the army, letting them know that he was in possession of twenty-five towers, and in no danger of being dislodged.'

"The invisible standard-bearer, who struck terror into the besieged and animated his comrades, was probably some gallant soldier, killed (like one of our own brave countrymen, under similar circumstances, on the ramparts of Seringapatam) in the very moment of his triumph. The Venetians, when once established, with characteristic prudence, secured their booty, and began to send the horses and palfreys which they had captured, in boats to the camp; and while they were thus employed a fresh body of Greeks returned to the charge. In order to maintain their ground, the Venetians set fire to the houses between themselves and the approaching enemy, against whom this terrible expedient proved an insurmountable barrier.

"To change their attack, and to press upon that portion of the besiegers which had been already repulsed, was the obvious policy of the Greeks; and Alexius, in spite of his unwarlike temperament, placed himself at the head of his myriads, and directed a sally from three gates at once, in the hope of overwhelming the camp. Each of the sixty battalions which the Greeks brought into the field outnumbered any of the six opposed to it; and the whole plain seemed alive with armed men, who advanced slowly and in good order. Had the Crusaders moved forward, they must have been surrounded and swept away; but forming before their palisades, which effectually guarded their rear, they placed their line so that its flanks also were protected. The crossbowmen and archers ranged in front, the horses formed the second line, and, behind these, were drawn up the infantry. Two hundred knights, whose horses had been slaughtered, either for food or in battle, served that day on foot; and, thus arrayed, they awaited their enemies, already within bow-shot. At that fearful crisis, intelligence of the peril of his friends was conveyed to Dandolo, and the noble-minded veteran lost not a moment in abandoning the towers which he had so hardly won, and in hastening to share the fate of his brethren in arms. Declaring that he would live or die with the Pilgrims, and himself descending the first from the walls, he rushed to the camp, bearing with him every hand that could be spared from his

fleet. Little, however, would this slender reinforcement have availed, if the courage of Alexius had equalled his overwhelming force. Whatever might have been his own loss (for there is no doubt that the Franks would have sold their lives most dearly), the total destruction of his enemies must have been the result of repeated charges; and these were urged upon him by the ardour of Lascaris. Yet, for a long time, the opposed lines gazed on each other without a movement; the Greeks too timorous to advance, the Pilgrims too prudent to quit their barricades. At length, the Emperor, despairing of success or apprehensive of disaster, gave the signal for retreat; and his steps were followed, slowly and cautiously, by the Latin knights, astonished at this unexpected good fortune. 'And indeed,' says the honest Villehardouin, 'God never delivered people from more imminent peril than that which this day threatened the Pilgrims, the boldest of whom rejoiced when it was passed.' Worn with toil and fatigue, they put off their armour; but their quarters were dreary and comfortless, they were straitened for provisions, and the danger which they had just escaped must again be confronted on the morrow. The Venetians, indeed, might console themselves with their glory. They had displayed the most eminent of all military virtues, courage, promptitude, fidelity; and, with a result which does not always accompany merit, they had not only deserved success, but they had also attained it.

" 'But, behold,' exclaims the pious chronicler, 'the miracles of our Lord! who displays them according to his pleasure.' Strange rumours from the city broke the night-watches of the camp, and intelligence the most joyous and the most unlooked-for was confirmed at dawn. Stragglers arrived, from time to time, all agreeing in the same story, that the usurper, terrified by the firmness of the besiegers, and, perhaps, also by the murmurs of his own citizens, had collected, during the night, such portable treasure as he could secure, a vast sum in gold, and the rich jewels of the crown; and, with his daughter Irene and a few followers whom he could trust, had hastily embarked and fled to *Debeltos* (Zagora), an obscure village in Bulgaria. The fear of general anarchy, so likely to be consequent upon this desertion of the throne, strongly impressed Constantine, the chief eunuch of the palace, to whom this shameful abandonment was earliest known. It was necessary to find some head of the state; and none appeared so fit, either to calm intestine discord or to conciliate the enemy under the walls, as the rightful but deposed prince. Isaac Angelus was awakened, at midnight, in his dungeon; and, in the messengers of his restoration to sovereignty, the sightless old man most probably anticipated, though falsely, the ministers of a bloody execution. After eight years' captivity, he was again invested with the imperial robes; led by the hand to the palace of Blachernæ, seated on his former throne, and deafened afresh with protestations of allegiance. The Barons and the young Alexius were overjoyed at this wondrous intelligence; so wondrous as, at first, to exceed belief. The Greeks, proverbially, were little to be trusted, and caution was requisite in

accepting their first report. The Chiefs, therefore, awaited its confirmation in the camp and under arms, till at length, when an exchange of couriers had removed all doubt, they gave way to their intense feelings of delight. Thanks were devoutly rendered by all to Heaven; and never, says the brave and sincere Marshal of Champagne, was greater joy manifested since the Creation.”—vol. i. pp. 118—130.

We have selected the above extract as a specimen of the style in which these sketches are executed, because it is a passage not connected with preceding and succeeding events, and forming, therefore, a complete picture by itself, rather than on account of any merit which it possesses above other portions of the volumes. The account of the wars between Genoa and Venice, as well as of those which the Republic waged with Padua and Milan,—the history of the league of Cambray,—of the war of Chiozza, and of the siege and conquest of Candia by the Turks, are all of them passages of singular and pre-eminent merit. In like manner, the lively conception of individual characters which is conveyed into the reader's mind, without any formal portraiture, affords an equally striking proof of the author's peculiar historical talent. The account we have of Vecchio de Carrero, and his eventful life,—of Carlo Zeno,—of the Visconti,—of Francesco di Carmagnuole,—of Francesco Sporza, and many others, are all marked with the same masterly pencil,—displaying a grace and lightness of touch, which is the more delightful because it is effected with so little labour or effort that we can fancy the author to be as unaware of his singular merit in this way, as the public in general seem to be, if we may judge from the attention which the book has excited. But the book is a golden book; as far above any of its competitors, in the list of works that have been published in the same form, as can well be expressed. The work will take its place, if we are not much mistaken, among the standard historical compositions of the language; and we hope, ere long, to see it printed in the form in which other standard works are commonly published.

- ART. VII.—1. *Essays, Moral and Political.* By Robert Southey, Esq. LL.D. Poet Laureate, &c. Now first collected. 2 vols. small 8vo. London: Murray. 1832.
2. *Observations on the Nature, Extent and Effects of Pauperism, and on the Means of Reducing it.* By Thomas Walker, M.A. Barrister at Law, and one of the Police Magistrates of the Metropolis. Second Edition, Revised. London. Ridgway. 1832. 8vo. pp. 89.
3. *Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, from the*

Experience of the last Eight Years. By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Minister of St. John's Church, Glasgow. Chalmers and Collins, Glasgow; Waugh and Innes, Edinburgh; Tims, Dublin; Whittaker, London. 1823. 8vo. pp. 78.

4. *The Eighth Report of the Committee of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and for the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders. With an Appendix.* Arch, London; Lizars, Edinburgh; Tims, Dublin. 1832. 8vo.
5. *Thoughts on Secondary Punishments, in a Letter to Earl Grey.* By Richard Whately, D.D. Archbishop of Dublin. To which are appended two Articles, on Transportation to New South Wales, and on Secondary Punishments; and some Observations on Colonization. London. Fellowes. 1832. 8vo. pp. 204.

THERE is one point connected with the Reform Bill on which all parties are agreed—an alteration of vital importance has been made in the constitution of this country, and it is a matter, not of curiosity only, but of primary interest, to see how that alteration will work. At present all is speculation. No one can certainly tell, and few will even venture to predict, what the results of the Reform will be. The hopes of one party, and the fears of the other, are qualified, as far as reasonable men are concerned, by great uncertainty and ignorance. The only infallible consequence of the measure appears to us to be an immense increase in the power of the Democracy. Whether that power will be exercised chiefly in correcting the abuses which have grown up under its predecessors, or in destroying the institutions which are deformed by those abuses,—whether a Reformed Parliament will content itself with doing what former Parliaments ought to have done, or will proceed in the work of innovation until Old England be no longer old,—whether Lord Grey and Mr. Stanley will succeed in preserving the limited monarchy and the aristocratical privileges now existing in this empire, or Mr. Hume and Mr. O'Connell will introduce their beloved American forms of government,—are questions which no cautious person will venture to answer without reserve. We know that the centre of gravity of our political system has changed, but where it is now situated, or how the various parts of the body will cohere under the new arrangement, is matter of conjecture only. Experiment after experiment must be tried, and year after year must elapse before confidence and security can return.

In the midst of this uncertainty two things may be looked upon as fixed: First, that the immediate result of the recent change will mainly depend upon the competence of our existing institutions to withstand the assault which will be made upon

them; and, secondly, that the ultimate and permanent welfare of this country are indissolubly connected with the instruction, and improvement, and happiness of the great body of the people. Old dams and breakwaters have been removed, and the stream of popular sentiment will henceforth rush along uncontrolled by those checks which have served to direct its progress and moderate its force. If the channels are deep enough to contain the boiling torrent with which they will now be filled—if the banks are strong enough to resist its fury, the land may yet be preserved. While, on the contrary supposition, the flood must prevail, and that large and beautiful field which has been enclosed with so much pains, and cultivated with so much skill and perseverance, and which, in spite of many barren spots, is yet so dear to the eye of benevolence, patriotism, and religion,—must once more become a wild waste of many waters, or rather, what is worse, an unreclaimed and irreclaimable morass, where the great sources of health and strength will be converted into the materials of infection and disease,—where desolation and death will be the only crop reaped from fields once fertile with every thing that can rejoice the heart of man.

With these forebodings as to what may possibly be the fate of this country, we confess that we are not among those who anticipate any immediate danger from the measure which has been passed in the late session of Parliament. It is true, that the Unions may be said to have carried the Reform Bill, but they could not have carried it unless they had been cordially supported by thousands who will not support them in the direct work of anarchy. The Democratic troops are not formidable except when they are officered by Whigs; and the Whigs, we suspect, are upon their guard against the possible machinations of their united friends. The flames of Bristol were not without an effect upon all who have houses over their heads. Ireland, with her O'Connells and her Doyles, has told the Lord Lieutenant that the time is come when he must either surrender to the Demagogues or defy them. The English Unions are, as yet, hardly prepared for extreme measures, and, even if they were, could hardly carry them into effect until they are headed by a wiser statesman than Mr. Attwood, and a better soldier than Colonel Jones.

But our belief in the non-existence of urgent danger does not blind us against the probability of its arising at no very distant day. Looking at the state of parties, Whig, Tory, and Radical, each nearly equal, and any two of them an overmatch for the third, who can doubt that the play of political combinations may throw a preponderating power into the hands of the *Destructives*.

Looking at the men by whom Government is or can be administered, who can name the individual on whom we may implicitly rely as capable of steering us through the waves of the political tempest. The Whigs, as they themselves confess, have no firm hold of power. And was a Tory administration to succeed them, what chance could it have of continuing in office, except by making very extensive sacrifices to popular opinion, or, in other words, giving way to a vast mass of innovation,—the results of which must always be a matter of conjecture.

In a word, the old Aristocratical prop by which our house was long supported has fallen, and either we must underpin the building and put new foundations beneath its walls, or it will totter on for a few years in a rickety state, and then come down with a tremendous crash. Was there ever any nation in such a state as this is now? An overflowing population,—immense wealth in the hands of the nobility and gentry,—a very large middle class, sufficiently provided with the good things of this world,—perfect freedom in thought, word, and deed,—much public virtue,—strict justice,—pure and undefiled religion,—equal laws,—great benevolence,—civilization carried as high and as low as it ever has been carried among mankind,—and yet, with all this, an expectation and dread of some great change.

The truth is, that the people having been directly invited to legislate, have been taught the secret of their own strength. And this at a time when a large proportion of them are still immersed in the profoundest ignorance; when another large proportion know just enough to be exposed to the arts of the Demagogue, without being able to see through his designs; when a reckless improvidence has been fostered for years by absurd and unameliorated poor-laws; and when general distress presses with tenfold weight upon the poorer classes, and hardly leaves them room for any reasonable exercise of political privilege or power. Although, therefore, the immediate tempest may be weathered, as we hope and trust it will be, there is a ten times heavier storm brewing in the distance, or, rather, there are certain signs of a constant succession of storms, each more dangerous than that which preceded it, and which no human means can suffice to arrest without the most unremitting attention to the general improvement of the people; their improvement in education, and consequently in knowledge; their improvement in industry, sobriety, and, above all, in prudence and forethought; and their consequent improvement in comfort and contentment. Nothing short of this can hold out any prospect of national tranquillity and happiness. The die is cast. The people of this realm must be raised to a much higher place than has hitherto

been occupied by the people in any European commonwealth, or the overthrow of our institutions is certain. We appeal distinctly to the fears of the aristocracy and middle classes, and ask how they can expect to retain their present relative positions in society if the labouring classes are dissatisfied. It did not require Political Unions to convince the reflecting of this truth. But the Unions have written it in characters which the blind may read, and to deny it any longer is not folly but madness.

Let it not be supposed, however, that the danger of suffering things to continue as they are is the motive which induces us to advocate the general improvement of our fellow-countrymen. We urge this circumstance as an overpowering argument, even when addressed to those by whom no other will be regarded. We tell the selfish despiser of his brethren, the prejudiced lover of ignorance, and the sneering apologist for vice, that they must exert themselves to improve the condition of the people, or prepare to change places with them. For ourselves, and for all good men, we place the duty in question upon a very different foundation, and say that it should be imperative upon every true Christian, and every true philanthropist, and every truly benevolent individual, even if fear and danger were altogether out of consideration.

The fact, we are afraid, is, that the rich, and the wise, and the good, and the happy, are not doing as much as they ought to do, and as much as they might do, for the poor, the ignorant, the vicious, and wretched. They are contented with doing a little, where they ought to do a great deal. In return for that mass of enjoyment which the upper and middling classes derive from society as now constituted among us, we are bound to extend a proportionate degree of care, and help, and assistance, to those who are in a less favoured situation. God and nature will not suffer the great and rich, in short, the gentry, to be as well off as they are in this country, and to remain so, unless they contribute largely to the welfare of the rest of their species. What is wanted is not so much new or better laws, as a new and improved administration of laws already existing. Governments and Parliaments can do but little for the real welfare of a people, still less for their general improvement, or for their recovery from great distress. They may facilitate, encourage, and direct, but the moving power is elsewhere; and unless the gentry will set it a-going, the work will not be done. Look at our suffering agricultural districts. Have they not fallen into their now miserable condition from the neglect, or carelessness, or folly, of those who encouraged, or at least permitted wages to be paid out of poor rates. Look at our towns and manufacturing districts. Could their inhabitants be what they are, if

the gentry had duly superintended their education, duly provided for their religious and moral training, duly punished crimes, and encouraged and rewarded virtue? Look at the demagogues haranguing a political union. May not such an abomination be traced to the absence of that intimacy between master and workman, which ought to have placed the labourer under very different control from that by which he is now guided?

We may be answered by a reference to active magistrates, unwearied philanthropists, conscientious clergymen, and kind masters, and told that all for which we are contending has been done, and done in vain. But we reply, that the number of persons such as these ought to be multiplied a hundred-fold before their existence can do away with the justice of our complaint. There are, here and there, all the persons that have been mentioned. We know it; we are thankful for it. Far, indeed, are we from denying them their just praise, or from undervaluing the good they have done. It is owing to them, and to them alone, that things are not infinitely worse. But for their exertions, the country would long ago have been reduced to a state of hopeless anarchy, wretchedness, and woe; and it is only by multiplying them tenfold that existing dangers will be removed.

The case, however, is not desperate. There is doubtless much sensuality and much selfishness among many men who cannot, and many who will not do their duty to their fellow creatures. Hundreds of the young and thoughtless will look upon riches as furnishing mere matter for enjoyment, and entailing no corresponding obligations upon the possessor. Hundreds will pursue riches as the one thing needful, and, provided riches are secured for themselves and their children, will utterly disregard the classes by whose sweat these riches are earned, by whose numbers they are preserved, and by whose orderly conduct they are made worth having. But with every due allowance for these worshippers of Mammon, ample materials still remain out of which to form a good superintending committee for the great mass of our countrymen; and the chief obstacle in the way of its formation, and the chief difficulty in setting it to work when formed, would be overcome, could the great body of the respectable classes be persuaded to consider what is required of them in this matter. There is enough good feeling, and enough good principle in the land, could they be excited and stirred up to activity. The disposition is no more wanting than the power; but men are afraid to begin; they are deterred by false shame; they stand all the day idle, because they are not invited to enter into the vineyard and work. They stare with stupid indifference at what is going on around them, because they are not aware that the evils arise chiefly from

their own indolence, and might be removed by their conscientious interference. Benevolence springs up in every corner of the land, at the call even of a single voice. How much more might active, systematic, persevering superintendence be called forth on all sides, if the good and the wise would unite in setting the example and supplying the impetus, and showing what may be done by a common and well-directed effort.

The demand is one which arises from the nature of things; and may, therefore, properly be called natural and sacred. In patriarchal times, the whole body of a nation constituted one family, and the parent was bound to provide for the maintenance and happiness of all. In the feudal ages every retainer was not merely dependent upon his chieftain, but had an acknowledged claim upon his care and benevolence. In agricultural districts, a similar claim is still made and admitted, and the proprietor of the soil is regarded as the natural guardian and protector of those who cultivate and live upon his estate. Perhaps it is in some measure owing to this circumstance that, in towns and populous districts, so few persons deem themselves called upon to assist in conducting parish business. Such business was originally transacted by one or more individuals, the *magnates* of each rural district; and hence seems to have sprung an opinion that, in districts very differently inhabited, and requiring very different superintendence, the same amount of guardianship is alone required. The affairs of a country parish having been managed, time out of mind, by one squire, one clergyman, and three or four churchwardens and overseers, it is thought that a staff of a like numerical amount will suffice for town parishes, or other populous places, containing twenty or thirty thousand souls. The poor of a rural district having been superintended and managed without other interference than that of persons upon whom they have the strongest direct claim, it has come to be received as an axiom, that, in other districts, no claims but such as this can be preferred, and that opulent and educated persons residing in large towns perform a work of supererogation, or at least do something supereminently meritorious, when they take an interest in the welfare of their fellow-creatures.

As a point of Christian morals, such a doctrine cannot be maintained for a moment; and even in a social and political point of view, it is evidently inadmissible; for where, as in this country, there exists a great body of educated persons in easy circumstances, there must also be a still greater body of mere labourers; and as a patriarchal, a feudal, or an agricultural state of society cannot prosper without due caution upon the part of its naturally constituted guardians and governors; so, in a commercial, populous,

and free commonwealth, the upper classes are bound to discharge certain duties, and nothing will go right while they refuse. When the population is thin, the number of persons who interfere may be small: when the population is large, a large number of the higher and middling orders will be wanted to assist in guiding the great body of the people; and no one has a right to plead an exemption from this general claim. 'What have I to do with the labouring classes?' is a question which is asked sometimes openly, and often secretly, by thousands. 'I am not their landlord; I am not their employer; I am not their clergyman; let them apply to these, or to the overseer—not to me, or to such as me.' Excuses like these are frequently made, and much more frequently acted upon, without any distinct expression of them; and the answer, in a more political examination of the matter, is very short,—
'Although you are not the immediate landlords or immediate employers of the poor in your neighbourhood, yet is the land, in fact, tilled for your benefit, and the workman at work for your convenience; and your relative duties are just the same as you yourself acknowledge them to be in the case of the actual landlord or employer.' Unless the truth of these statements is admitted and acted upon, we can see no hope of better times. We have confessed already that much is done, and in many quarters. Statesmen and legislators are constantly at work; a large body of philanthropists are pressing on from day to day, recommending new plans, or improving upon old ones; a numerous clergy, rapidly advancing in the career of usefulness, are bent upon the full discharge of their sacred duties—and yet complaints resound on every side; things are getting worse and worse; there is more crime, more poverty, more suffering in each year, than there was in the preceding one; and where will all this end? Only let things go on as at present, until there is a bad harvest, or until a war breaks out, and bankruptcy, ruin, and want of employment become general, or until any new or old, real or imaginary grievances stir up the mob to tumult, and what excesses may not be expected? The increased political knowledge of the labouring classes is great, and their political errors are increased in the same proportion. They have tasted, but not drunk deep of the sacred spring; and until they know much more than they know at present, their unions are like those of children who meet together to play with gunpowder. This state of things, we contend, can be put an end to in one manner only, namely, by the strict and uniform discharge of the duties which the upper classes owe to the lower, the rich to the poor, and the wise to the ignorant.

Every other remedy that has been suggested or can be suggested resolves itself into this—or presupposes it. Dr. Chalmers,

in the volume to which the attention of our readers has been already directed, declares, with emphasis and truth, that—

“There is no possible help for the people, if they will not help themselves. It is to a rise and reformation in the habits of our peasantry, that we should look for deliverance; and not to the impotent crudities of a speculative legislation. Many are the schemes of amelioration at all times afloat. We hold, that without the growth of popular intelligence and virtue they will every one of them be ineffectual.”

And how, we ask, can popular intelligence and virtue be made to grow—much more, how can they ever attain their full stature and their just proportion, unless the ignorant and vicious millions by whom we are now surrounded are carefully tended, soundly taught, kindly admonished and directed, not by a few hundreds of well-meaning friends, but by the whole body of the upper classes throughout the country? Dr. Chalmers is loud, but not more loud than just, in his complaints of the tremendous evils which the poor laws, as now administered, have brought upon this unhappy land. How will those evils be remedied, how even will their accelerated increase be prevented, unless by the combined exertions of almost every respectable householder, contributing not his sorely grudged and hardly wrung pittance in the shape of a forced payment to the poor-rate, but his voluntary, his cheerful assistance as an employer or an alms-giver, or at least as a counsellor and a friend? Mr. Southey's *Essays*, which we have placed at the head of this article, and which are well worthy of the permanent shape in which they are now presented to the public, contain many striking passages, which call forth the self-same inquiry, and must receive precisely the same reply. In the *Essay* upon the means of improving the people we find the following just and eloquent remarks:—

“It has been well argued by Stillingfleet, that God exercises a particular providence with respect to the condition of kingdoms and nations, making it better or worse according to the moral and religious condition of the people. For the moral order of the world is not less immutable than its physical laws. The seasons are not linked together in more inevitable sequence than human actions and their consequences; and trees do not more certainly bring forth fruit after their kind than good and evil are attendant upon virtue and vice. As respects individuals, indeed, the day of reckoning may not always be in this world . . . the greater their misery when it is deferred: but communities, existing only in time, cannot escape from their temporal account. There can be no permanent prosperity unless it be founded upon industry, virtue, and religion; the public weal, as well as the welfare and happiness of individuals rests upon these, and rests upon them wholly; in proportion as the people become idle, immoral, and irreligious, the state becomes in-

secure; its base is undermined; and it is well observed by Mr. Walpole, that 'in policy, as in architecture, the ruin is greatest when it begins with the foundation.'

"In the miserably misgoverned Turkish empire men are at this time retrograding from the settled to the nomadic state of life; the wandering population is continually increased by those who desert to it from the oppression which they endure; and thus the last remaining wrecks of civilization, in what was once the most civilized, the most intellectual and the most flourishing part of the whole habitable earth, would one day be destroyed, if it were not reasonable to believe that Providence will bring about a great and beneficial change in its own good time. Those who thus prefer the wilderness to the city, and the tent to the fixed habitation, are in some respects bettered by the exchange; they are less in danger of the plague; and if they leave none of their vices behind them, they acquire at least manly habits to which they were strangers before. The change which has been going on among us has none of these qualifying circumstances for the individual, while it tends to the direct and immediate detriment of the commonweal. With us, they who withdraw themselves from the service of society are enlisted instantly against it. As soon as they cease to support themselves by their own earnings, they begin to prey upon the property of others. Hobbes, in the frontispiece to his *Leviathan*, has delineated his commonwealth as a crowned and armed human image, whose body is composed of individuals; the magistrates form the breast, the military are its arms, and if the figure had been given at full length, the peasantry and mechanics would have been seen constituting the feet and legs. We have had occasion to notice elsewhere the apt similitude which he has found for the libellous and seditious members of the community. If he had contemplated the present effect of the Poor Laws, he might have devised one not less appropriate for the paupers of the land; and the body of his personified commonwealth would have appeared as much infested with extraneous and injurious life as that of a beetle with its annoying parasites, the beetle being of all creatures the one which is most tormented by such attendants.

"The remedies for this great evil are what King Edward indicated, good education; the due administration of good laws; coercion for the idle, the profligate, and the wicked; encouragement for the well-disposed.

"Much has, undoubtedly, been done for educating the children of the poor in these latter years, but it wants a firm and permanent foundation. The schools which have hitherto been established are supported wholly by voluntary subscriptions. It may be hoped that this liberality, which proceeds from a sense of duty towards God and man, will not abate, though it should no longer be provoked by the excitement of hostile views and interests: but it would be unreasonable to expect that the funds which are thus raised shall be considerably increased; and it is impossible that they should be commensurate with the necessity that exists. At this time it is stated, upon the best authority, that there are in London from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty

thousand children, between the ages of six and sixteen, without the means of education; and that from two to four thousand of these are hired out to beggars or employed in thieving.

“The prodigious increase of youthful criminals is an effect of the enormous increase of the metropolis, though so direct and obvious a cause seems to be overlooked by those who have written upon the subject. Great cities do not with more certainty generate foul air, and condense contagion, than they assist the propagation of moral diseases. And yet, under a good police, medical and moral, the means, both of prevention and remedy, might be applied there with far greater celerity, and therefore with more likelihood of success, than in places where the population is scattered. Accordingly, in all Utopian romances, the perfect model of policy, according to the author’s notion of this wide subject, is always exhibited in the capital of his ideal commonwealth; and in the only attempt which has ever been made for exhibiting such schemes in practice, the people were all collected into inclosed towns. Here it may be observed, that in all ideal schemes of government a greater superintendence is supposed on the part of the magistrates, and a greater interference with the actions of individuals and the occupations of private life than has ever been exercised under the most despotic monarchies. And so surely is this passion for interference found in those persons who seat themselves in imagination, or in reality, in the seat of the lawgiver, without having any legal pretensions or natural qualification for the place, that both in our own history, and in that of France, the men who were loudest in demanding the most unlimited liberty for themselves, in thought, word, and deed, have no sooner been in possession of power, than they have laid the severest restrictions upon the thoughts, words, and deeds, of all except themselves and their own party.

“There is no danger of our tending toward the same extreme; but we shall err wickedly and perilously on the other side, if we allow this evil, or any evil which we possess the means of controlling, to take its course uncontrolled. Children are daily to be seen, in hundreds and thousands, about the streets of London, brought up in misery and mendicity, first to every kind of suffering, afterwards to every kind of guilt, the boys to theft, the girls to prostitution, and this not from accidental causes, but from an obvious defect in our institutions! Throughout all our great cities, throughout all our manufacturing counties, the case is the same as in the capital. And this public and notorious evil, this intolerable reproach, has been going on year after year, increasing as our prosperity has increased, but in an accelerated ratio. If this were regarded by itself alone, distinct from all other evils and causes of evil, it might well excite shame for the past, astonishment for the present, and apprehension for the future; but if it be regarded in connection with the increase of pauperism, the condition of the manufacturing populace, and the indefatigable zeal with which the most pernicious principles of every kind are openly disseminated in contempt and defiance of the law and of all things sacred, the whole would seem to form a sinking fund of vice, misery, and wickedness, by which not only our wealth, power, and

prosperity, but all that constitutes the pride, all that constitutes the happiness of the British nation is in danger of being absorbed and lost.

"The sternest republican that ever Scotland produced was so struck by this reflection, that he did not hesitate to wish for the re-establishment of domestic slavery, as a remedy for the squalid wretchedness and audacious guilt with which his country was at that time overrun. No sooner was a system of parochial education established there, than a change began to operate. The roots of that huge overspreading evil were cut, and Scotland, which was then as lawless and barbarous as Ireland is now, became the most orderly part of the British dominions. The growth of manufactures, the abuse of distillation, and the infidelity with which some of the Scotch schools have spawned during the last half century, are great counteracting principles, whose influence must be lamentably felt. But these principles are common to both countries; and the striking advantages which Scotland possesses on the score of general morals can be ascribed only to two causes—its parochial education and the management of its poor. We have before us a table of the proportion of persons committed for criminal offences in different parts of Great Britain to the population of those parts, formed upon an average of the five years from 1805 to 1809. In London and Middlesex it was 1 in 854; in the midland circuit 1 in 5414; in Scotland 1 in 19,967. That there is anything better in the Scotch character than in our own, we should not acknowledge, nor would they pretend; the difference can only be caused by the care with which the people are trained up in moral and religious habits—this being the most important part of policy, and that without which all other measures of good government are imperfect and insecure. The Utopians understood this well:—'*Summam adhibent industriam, ut bonas protenus opiniones, et conservandæ ipsorum Reipublicæ utiles, teneris adhuc et sequacibus puerorum animis instillent; quæ ubi pueris penitus insederint, viros per totam vitam comitantur, magnamque ad tuendum publicæ rei statum (qui non nisi vitiiis dilabitur, quæ ex perversis nascuntur opinionibus) afferunt utilitatem.*'"—Vol. ii. pp. 131—137.

Now we agree, and will shortly state our reasons for agreeing, with Mr. Southey, in all the more important matters referred to in this passage—that the poor laws have reduced this nation to the condition of a beetle, injured and tormented by the parasites which fester upon its surface—that the education of the people, however increased and improved in our own days, and indebted for that increase and improvement to few men more than to Mr. Southey, is still miserably incomplete—that the frightful amount of crime, and the systematic manner in which criminals are allowed to advance from their first entry upon pilfering and prostitution, to the grand climax of their offences—are a sore scandal and disgrace to the laws and law-makers of England. But previously to entering upon any of these inquiries, we will put the same question which has been already put to Dr. Chal-

mers—does any one of these monstrous, these alarming evils admit of an effectual remedy, until the heads and hands actually employed in taking care of the lower orders are increased a hundred fold?

Look, in the first place, at education. We are aware that some members of the aristocracy and many more of the middle classes have been the reluctant patrons of general education, have supported it rather as a choice of evils, than as an unmixed good; and have been encouraged and persuaded to persevere rather by confidence in the clergy, under whom the system of instruction has been carried on, than by attachment to the work itself or confidence in its results. There has been and still is a frequent recurrence to weak and sophistical reasoning in defence of measures which may and ought to be placed upon the most solid foundation. It has been said that the people must and will be taught, if not by the Church, then by the Dissenters or the Infidels. It has been said that religious knowledge can do no harm, and many a scruple has been overcome and many a subscription procured by this absurd distinction between particular and general instruction. We do not mean to censure the persons by whom these arguments have been used. If they used them in sincerity, they are to be pitied rather than blamed; if they merely adopted them as reasons which would tell in the quarters to which they were addressed, then, although we lament the timidity, we cannot deny the adroitness of the advocate. But the time for such mystification has passed away. It behoves every good man, more especially every good Christian, to speak audibly and intelligibly upon this vital question. 'To educate, instruct and improve the people, is just as much the duty of a nation and its government as to preserve them from tumults or starvation; and it is a duty which the English nation and government have shamefully neglected. The great improvement that has taken place in the last twenty years is not to be denied, and if regarded as a specimen of what may be done by the same means, it can hardly be too much extolled. But there is a tendency to represent the work as finished, when, in fact, it is only begun. Many persons will tell you that sufficient means for the education of the poor are provided throughout this country. That the places where it is otherwise are few and form the exception not the rule, and that if the people are not taught, the fault is in almost every instance their own. We dissent entirely from this representation. In most parishes, no doubt, of considerable size and population, there is now to be found a school. Such schools are, in general, respectably conducted. Few scholars leave them without having learned reading, writing and arithmetic. The elements of religious knowledge are widely disseminated, and

in many cases the historical parts of Scripture are thoroughly mastered and understood. Still, as far as the mere mechanism of education is concerned, we assert and are prepared to prove, that in most, if not in all populous places, it is dreadfully deficient. In a parish containing not more than five thousand souls, one large school may suffice. But we have parishes in the metropolis and its neighbourhood containing ten and twenty times this number, and who will pretend to say that the means of instruction for the lower orders are multiplied in the same proportion. In the immense districts of St. Marylebone and St. Pancras, and in the opulent parishes of Westminster, it might be supposed that the wealth and respectability of the inhabitants would have made it an easy task to establish and support adequate charity schools. But it is not so. There are large and excellent schools in all these places, but not half as many as there ought to be. In the eastern parts of London, where the population is more dense and the resources of charity less ample, the deficiency, we fear, is still greater. In St. Giles's, St. Andrew's, and still more in Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, and Shoreditch, twice the number of schools which are now to be seen might be filled in half a year, and the same, we believe, is true of Lambeth, the Borough, and almost all the large places near London. Efforts have not been wanting on the part either of the heads of the church or of the parochial clergy to remedy these defects, and the progress that has been made is encouraging. But we protest most solemnly against the opinion that nothing remains to be done. We deny that the experiment of universal education has ever yet been tried in any one large division of the metropolis or other populous place; and unless public attention can be kept alive to that fact, and public benevolence can be stimulated to exertions far beyond what have hitherto been made, which we do not expect, there is only one alternative, great numbers of children must continue for another half-century untaught, or schools must be opened at the public expense.

If a stranger were to look for the first time at the institutions of England, nothing would surprise him more than the non-existence of a system of general education. The country whose riches and power are most conspicuous among the nations of Europe, whose establishments are upon the most liberal and expensive scale, and whose religious and political opinions are friendly to the universal diffusion of knowledge, has left the education of the great mass of its people to the casual benevolence of individuals. During the last twenty years much has been done by these means; but a very large portion of the work yet remains, and must always remain to be performed, until public provision is made for its accomplish-

ment. The error committed at the Reformation by those who neglected to establish parochial schools, has been repeatedly noticed, and Mr. Southey exposes it in plain terms.

“The platform of general instruction was not laid (as it ought to have been) when we passed from Popery to Protestantism. Funds wrested iniquitously from the Church, and which, if justly applied, might have provided for this most important object with a munificence of which no age or country has ever yet seen an example, were dilapidated by the profuse expenditure of Henry VIII. and the rapacity of his favourites: and, perhaps, if his saintly son had attained to longer life, he might have found his best intentions frustrated by the opposition which they would have experienced from selfishness, cupidity and contending parties. But unhappily while little was done, the easier work of undoing had proceeded with its natural rapidity. Such as the instruction of the Romish Church is, it was amply provided by the Romish establishment: its outward and visible forms were always before the eyes of the people; the ceremonials were dexterously interwoven with the whole habits of their usual life; the practice of confession, baleful as it is, and liable to the most perilous abuses, had yet the effect of bringing every individual under the knowledge of his spiritual teacher; while a faith, blind indeed, and grossly erroneous, but still a faith, was kept alive in the most ignorant of the populace by superstitious observances, the scaffolding and the trappings, the tools and the trinkets of Popery. In addition to all these means, the country was filled with itinerant preachers actively employed in co-operating with the secular clergy to one general end, (however opposed to them in individual interest,) and in supporting and strengthening the influence of the Church establishment. Under that state of things, every person in the kingdom was instructed in as much of Christianity as his teacher, erring himself and ignorant of its true nature, thought necessary for salvation. He was well taught in certain legends, and knew perfectly the romance of his patron saint, and the fable of his favourite idol: he had a lively faith in purgatory, and had learnt when to kneel and when to cross himself at a mysterious and unintelligible service; and he could repeat certain prayers, with a full persuasion of their devoutness and of the utility of repeating them, though he did not understand the meaning of one syllable. Great superstition was inculcated, and implicit faith; and it has been wisely and charitably observed by Wesley, that ‘God makes allowance for invincible ignorance, and blesses the faith, notwithstanding the superstition!’

“This was the religious state of our common people before the Reformation; the point of instruction was reached at which their teachers aimed, and which their rulers thought necessary. And this is the condition of the common people in Catholic countries at this day, where they have not been infected by the pestilence of revolutionary impiety. Its effect in attaching them invincibly to the old institutions of their native land has been nobly exemplified in La Vendée, in Portugal, and in Spain. It is accompanied every where with a lamentable ignorance of the real nature of Christianity, and with a most adulterated system of

morals as well as of faith; but if the same diligence had been used in these kingdoms for instructing every person in the pure faith and pure morals of the English Church, can we doubt that it would have been equally successful?"—vol. ii. pp. 126—128.

After the Restoration an attempt was made to supply the want of public seminaries by the institution of Charity Schools, and as much was accomplished as could have been expected from such an attempt. The formation of the National Society, and the large number of schools in connection with it, was a revival and extension of the same plan, accommodated to existing circumstances, and conferring most important benefits upon the country. But these and all similar undertakings are in their very nature limited and incomplete. The education which they impart must always be in a state of greater or less fluctuation; they can never embrace the most remote, and on that account the most destitute objects; and whatever may be done by charity schools in town parishes of a moderate size—or in country parishes, where the proprietors reside and the farmers are opulent—they will never suffice to educate all the poor in a dense population, or be universally maintained in the less favoured districts of a large empire. The argument for *established* parochial schools rests nearly upon the same foundation as that for established parochial clergymen. Something may be done both for religion and for education without either of them, but nothing like what may be done with them. Voluntary contributions will not suffice to maintain an adequate number either of ministers or of schoolmasters; and the state neglects its duty to the children of the poor by abstaining from the institution of parochial schools, in the same manner that it would violate its duty to all ranks were it to abolish the institution of parochial clergy.

For our own parts, we see no reason why a plan resembling that brought forward some ten years ago by Lord Brougham might not be adopted. His lordship's measure, professing to be the result of his inquiries respecting general education, was looked upon with suspicion by many to whom in the course of those inquiries he had happened to give offence. It was also denounced with great bitterness by the Lancastrian School Committee, as tending to connect the clergy too closely with the education of the people. Many believed at the time, that Lord Brougham relinquished his bill in deference to the opposition on the part of Mr. Allen, and other supporters of what are termed the British and Foreign Schools. It is certain that he made no serious effort to carry it through parliament, and it is equally certain that the Church party, though they objected to some of the details, entertained no hostility against the principle of the measure. The

most formidable obstacle to its adoption would probably have arisen from the reluctance of the legislature to sanction any fresh demands upon the pockets of the people; and the shape in which the demand was to be made, namely, that of a rate on houses and lands, after the manner of the poor rate, would not have tended to make the arrangement more popular. Still, were a similar measure to be supported by government, we can hardly suppose that it would be unsuccessful, especially if accompanied by such regulations respecting the compulsory relief of the poor as might diminish the existing amount of money raised by rates. But we forbear from saying more on this part of our subject at present: it will force itself shortly upon general attention, and we shall rejoice to see the question fairly taken up and advocated by those who have the power of bringing it to a prosperous issue. Lord Brougham's General Education Bill, we repeat, would form no bad foundation for such an undertaking, and the details might be settled without any serious difficulty.

Supposing, however, that this great step were gained, would there not still be ample room for the working of that principle which we have represented as the one thing needful for the permanent improvement of the working classes? If there were the means of establishing and maintaining schools in sufficient numbers, or even if such schools were actually established, still they would neither be adequately attended by those for whom they were designed, nor adequately conducted by those who were appointed to that office, unless great exertions were made by the upper orders. General, or to use a more adequate word, universal education, could not be imparted to the people in their present state of poverty, degradation and vice, without great and persevering efforts. The respectable portion of the labouring classes send their children to school with readiness and gratitude; and probably the larger part of such persons are not unprovided with the means of education for their offspring. But in carrying education lower than it has ever yet descended—in rendering it not merely common, but universal—in bringing the depraved and worthless to a sense of what is right in this respect, and prevailing upon them to co-operate with us in communicating the elements of knowledge and religion to their children—in giving them habits of cleanliness, industry and honesty—and in rescuing them from filth, disease, vice, and all manner of abominations—much more will be found wanting than mere funds for the erection of schools, and for the payment of salaries. These blessed works will never be accomplished unless the upper classes go forth among the most miserable of their fellow-creatures, not by twos and threes, but by hundreds and thousands. A most comprehen-

sive, and at the same time a most minute system of visiting from street to street, from house to house, from floor to floor, from room to room, will alone prove competent to grapple with the existing evil; and this, which if properly planned and conducted, we regard as an invaluable ingredient in the melioration of the great mass of our countrymen, evidently demands what we are now contending for—a far more general sense of what is due from the rich to the poor, and a far more general disposition to yield it, than has yet been seen in our land.

The difficulty of educating the children of the worthless poor was formerly felt to be so great, that it was proposed to separate them from their parents, and bring them up in a kind of work-house. This great error was committed a hundred years ago by the original patrons of charity schools in the metropolis. It checked the progress of the education which they desired to spread, by expending upon board and lodging funds which ought to have been applied to instruction only. And it inflicted upon us those standing nuisances, the old parochial schools, which, wherever they exist, have formed an almost insuperable barrier against the extension of education. We are reminded by Mr. Southey's Essay, that a similar plan not only received the honour of his approbation, but was recommended by a Committee of the House of Commons, and was urged upon general attention in an able pamphlet by Mr. Courtenay.

“ One suggestion of the Committee is, that instead of relieving poor families by an allowance for the maintenance of their children, the children themselves, above the age of three years, should be taken, educated and maintained.

“ Mr. Courtenay has argued in favour of this proposal with that good feeling which distinguishes his Treatise upon the Poor Laws.

“ ‘ The instruction and maintenance of the poor in charity schools,’ he says, ‘ is not a speculative project for bettering the condition of society; there would, perhaps, be no question but that a residence at home, with affectionate and independent parents, would in that point of view be preferable; but the question now is, whether, where that independence has been destroyed, and the virtuous feeling greatly endangered—where the parent is unable to feed his child and incapable of teaching him—the state may not insure a moral education to the being which it preserves? It is not proposed to compel the separation of the child from the parent, where the parent undertakes to maintain it; or, in all cases, to prohibit the public authorities from assisting the parent without that condition. It is simply intended to enact, that when a parent declares himself unable to maintain those whom the laws of nature have made dependent upon him, his neighbours should have a right to say to him, “ We will not supply your deficiencies, but we will protect your child against the effect of your neglect.” ’

“ ‘ The measure is assuredly one of the mildest which we can adopt if we retreat at all from the present system. It may, indeed, be deemed too little of a reform, and censured as “ a solecism against the simple and powerful policies of nature ;” inasmuch as it involves, equally with the present mode, the undertaking to feed all the children of the poor.

“ ‘ It is much for the law to say, that no man’s child shall starve ;— it is certainly too much, that it should also provide that the child shall be subsisted in the mode most agreeable to the parents, and so that no more inconvenience shall be sustained on its account, than if the parents had fulfilled their natural duties towards it. To enable them to do this, by an adequate addition to their income, is to put a pauper in a better situation than any other member of society, since some inconvenience, deprivation, or degradation follows in almost all but the very highest ranks, the birth of a numerous family. Inconveniences, and afflictions indeed, of the very nature of the present suggestion, are felt by parents in the middling classes ; many of the public establishments, of which persons of moderate incomes are desirous of availing themselves, require separation at a considerable distance, and submission to rules offensive and irksome. At an age somewhat later, a banishment to distant and unhealthy climes is often the only resource. Few fathers can insure to their children a continuance in the rank of society in which they were born. In the case of the very poorest, there would be no lower degree but actual starvation ; *that* the law attempts to prevent—not because this lowest class has a right to be exempted from the general inconvenience, but because, in such a case, the evil would be more severe than humanity allows us to contemplate.

“ ‘ Yet I cannot but think it most probable, that much less of misery would be sustained by children in the proposed schools, than the most liberal administration of the Poor Laws would otherwise prevent by money payments. Large as are the sums allowed, there is still unquestionably much of squalid poverty, and much suffering from disease amongst numerous families in general. In the schools attention would doubtless be paid to the health and personal cleanliness of the children, and much more of filth and misery withdrawn from the habitations of the poor than the pecuniary allowance now averts. The inexpediency of the proposal might, perhaps, fairly be grounded, rather upon its mildness and consequent inefficiency, than upon the harshness of its pressure upon the people.’—pp. 54—56.

“ Were this suggestion carried into effect, a main distinction ought to be made between the honest and the profligate poor ; and the children of the former should in no case be taken from the parents unless it were the parents’ own desire : though the public ought to educate, and is bound to maintain them. The children of good parents are best situated where they are under their parents’ care. In the case of profligate families’ children they can learn nothing but evil—removal ought to be the condition of relief. But where children, either by the death or the notorious profligacy of their actual protectors, are thus thrown upon the public for parental care as well as for support, parental authority devolves upon the public also ; which would best consult its own interest,

and that of the children, if, instead of binding them out at the proper age as parish apprentices, it should send them to the colonies, providing for them thus as part of a well arranged system of regular emigration. Even in an Utopian parish it would only be needful to suppose a regular inspection of the school by the salaried overseer, or the select vestry, and a little of that notice and that attention toward the children, on the part of the clergyman and the wealthier inhabitants, which kind hearts find a pleasure in bestowing."—vol. ii. pp. 139—142.

We venture to dissent from this opinion in the most decided terms. Of all attempts to improve the condition of the poor, none have so grossly failed as those which proceed upon the principle of taking away their children and educating them in schools and workhouses. The fact is notorious to every tradesman in London. Almost all of them will testify that children brought up in workhouses, or in schools where they are shut up and boarded and clothed, are in nine cases out of ten good for nothing. Even when the superintendence is permanently good, which it very rarely can be, the system itself spoils the child; and such as know what they are about will take no such child into their service. We observe that a question upon this subject has been introduced into the Queries circulated by the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Poor Laws. It is to be hoped that their object is to call forth answers unfavourable to the proposed plan, for we could give no other name than that of a great national calamity to its adoption.

There is one other point connected with the education of the poor to which we must briefly advert; the *quantum* of instruction which they ought to receive, and do receive, and the means which exist, and may be provided for bringing these amounts nearer to each other than they are at present. Reading, writing, and arithmetic, the elements of Christian knowledge, and an accurate acquaintance with scripture history, are taught, as has been already said, in every well conducted national school. And we believe there are few such schools in which the knowledge of the pupil rises much above this level. It is certain that a great deal more might be taught to a boy or girl of average abilities in the course of four years; and the consequence is that neither master nor scholar has sufficient motives for diligence—both grow tired with the unvarying repetition of the same lessons, and it is well if the sameness does not terminate in disgust, and produce an actual dislike for the Bible, and for religious instruction in general. At all events the attention of the children is not excited, nor their diligence stimulated, nor their thirst for knowledge gratified. If we wish to make them fond of reading, this is not the method to effect our purpose. If we wish to attach them to their instruc-

tors and so establish a gentle influence which may controul them in after life—surely this is not the best instrument for such an operation. If we wish to put them upon their guard against the mischievous publications which must fall in their way, to prepare them against the assaults of the infidel and the demagogue, and enable them to give an answer to such as would persuade them that idleness, vice, irreligion, and turbulence, were better worth cultivating than industry, virtue, religion, and contentment, surely a lad fresh from a national school, and knowing nothing more than what is generally taught there, is not prepared as he ought to be, and might be, for so fearful a conflict.

It may be said, no doubt, that although the quantum of instruction communicated at present in our schools be, as we represent it, small, yet that the deficiency in this respect is counterbalanced by the excellence of the principles which are circulated, and of the habits which are formed in these institutions. And we admit that there is weight in this observation,—provided good principles are firmly implanted, and good habits adopted and persevered in, the amount of actual knowledge acquired may be regarded as a secondary consideration. But what we contend for is, that good principles and good habits are not to be so surely produced under a system of education exclusively religious, as under one which combines general with scriptural knowledge. The children in a school, especially in a large school, are not made religious and moral by mere religious and moral lessons, any more than they are made attentive and diligent by a mere call to attention. It is necessary, in the first place, to make them like what they are about, to interest their hearts in the instruction which they receive. It is necessary, in the second place, to let them feel the pleasure and reward of doing right, and the pain and disgrace of doing wrong. It is necessary, in the third place, to make them understand that these results will follow regularly from the line of conduct which they pursue, be it good or bad. Nor is it possible that all this should be done for two or three, or perhaps five or six hundred boys, by a single master, unless the system itself does half the work to his hand. The initiating steps in education have been made plain in the infant schools, and it is now beyond dispute, that the alphabet may be learned without having recourse to compulsion. The second steps in the progress may be most materially facilitated by giving the children lessons which they can understand and like; and as their education advances, nine out of ten may be made fond of reading by supplying them with a succession of entertaining books. But then this entertainment can only be furnished by extending our limits far beyond the mere study of the Scriptures; and then it becomes necessary to teach Ancient and Modern

History, Natural History, and Geography, even if we have no further object in view than to make the children like their lessons and their teachers. And this is not mere theory unsupported by experiment. The Sessional schools in Edinburgh, of which we gave some account in our last number, have clearly demonstrated the truth for which we are contending. And Mr. Wood has shewn what, upon a small scale, our own experience tends also strongly to confirm, that the most indispensable preliminary is to be secured, and the greatest of all difficulties to be overcome more speedily and more completely by introducing a variety of amusing and instructive works into the general business of a school, than by any other plan that has been hitherto devised. The hearty good will and liking of the children towards their school and their school-master, is the true starting post in all systems of education. And those who begin any where else begin at the wrong end.

These facts tend to establish the general position for which we are contending in this article, namely, that the poor require more attention from the rich than they have hitherto received. For children quitting school after such an education as that which has been recommended, will immediately stand in need of an increased supply of mental food, and that too of a very different description from what they are at present provided with—and over and above all that can be done by books, a well-educated people will be qualified to receive instruction now totally beyond their reach, from the visits and conversations of those who are raised above them by knowledge, property, or station. The extent to which books of general instruction and amusement may be circulated among the labouring classes is now no longer a secret, and when their previous education has prepared them to read such books with all the benefit that can be derived from them, fresh demands will be made upon the writing portion of the human race for works calculated to interest and improve their fellow creatures.

With these sentiments we sincerely rejoice at the step recently taken by a Society intimately connected with the National and all other charity schools, we mean the appointment by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of a Special Committee for the express purpose of preparing and publishing works of general literature and education. The Useful Knowledge Society has already entered on the same field, and, with a few exceptions, has performed its work in a very satisfactory manner. But it is pledged to abstain from communicating religious instruction, and any formal avowed separation of useful from Christian knowledge is liable to so many objections, that general satisfaction has

been expressed at the attempt which is now making to bring them into closer connection than before. The establishment and the character of the Saturday Magazine has afforded an encouraging specimen of what may be expected from the new Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They have an ample field for their labours, and if adequately supported by those who ought to take an interest in the improvement of the people, they promise to become the instrument of extensive and lasting good.

Yet education is not the field in which the most is now required to be done, much less is it that in which least has been attempted. Individual exertion and private benevolence have been manifested in that direction for many years, and to a great extent, and with an abundant return. But can this be said when our attention is turned to the administration and actual effects of the Poor Laws, or to the provisions now existing for the punishment and prevention of crime? The former subject alone can hardly be approached without a feeling of dismay and almost of despair, naturally arising from the dismal vastness of the prospect. Not only is the present state of the law for the relief of the poor the foulest blot upon the escutcheon of England, but it is so deeply, if not so indelibly, impressed, as to require no ordinary boldness even to attempt its removal, and removed, we firmly believe, it will never be by any mere legislative enactment. The magnitude and difficulty of the undertaking seem to have paralysed all who have hitherto taken it in hand, and great as is our confidence in the Commission recently appointed for inquiring once more into the subject, we can anticipate nothing in the shape of direct or immediate parliamentary interference which will reach the root of the disease. The more violent symptoms may be palliated, the gangrenous portions of the decaying mass may be cut away, but unless thousands of active influential citizens can be persuaded to put their shoulders to the wheel, and change the existing system by a complete change in the administration of it, we entertain no hope of improvement in any degree commensurate with the evil.

The subject is far too extensive to be discussed in a few short pages, and we refer to it more for the sake of exemplifying the proposition which we are endeavouring to establish, than in the hope of saying what is new or in itself of any material importance. In fact, upon the more pressing and difficult portion of the subject, that, namely, which relates to the agricultural districts, we are not prepared to offer a single suggestion. Our remarks, slight as they are, must be confined almost exclusively to towns

and populous places, in which the means may certainly be found for procuring no inconsiderable measure of relief.

There are two pamphlets now before us, from which, if taken together, some light may be thrown upon this dark and difficult field of inquiry—Dr. Chalmers's Statement in regard to the Pauperism of Glasgow, and Mr. Walker's Observations on the Nature, Extent, and Effects of Pauperism, and on the means of reducing it. Both these gentlemen have honourably distinguished themselves, not merely by their sayings but by their doings, in opposition to the effects of the Poor Laws; and we should certainly augur well of an attempt to combine what is peculiar in each of their systems, and introduce the measure at once into the metropolis, and into all or some of our other large towns. The essence of Dr. Chalmers's scheme is the division of a parish into districts, containing not more than five hundred souls, and the appointment of a deacon or overseer, who undertakes to attend to the wants of the poor in each district. Those persons who are already in the receipt of a parish allowance are permitted to receive it still; but the case of every new applicant is carefully examined by the deacon, and all practicable endeavours are made to relieve distress by procuring employment, and by good advice and encouragement, before the smallest sum of money is disbursed for the purpose. The funds from which relief, when given in money, is to be drawn, consist solely of the weekly collections made at church, and no compulsory levy is to be raised for the relief of any person not assisted out of the Poor Rate before the adoption of Dr. Chalmers's plan. The result is stated in the following passages.

“ It was of this poorest, then, of our city parishes, that I felt the confidence of being at length able to meet and to manage its pauperism, without drawing any supply from the fund raised by assessment. I did not know, at the commencement of our undertaking, that it was the poorest. But I was at least sure that it fell greatly beneath the average of all the parishes in wealth, and that its pauperism, under the ordinary treatment, should have cost more than a tenth of the whole expense for the poor in Glasgow, or, at the rate of expenditure for some years, upwards of 1400*l.* annually. For the achievement of this object, all that I required was the free command and use of the weekly collection received at my church door, amounting at that time to 400*l.* a year. And with this sum I could have undertaken any other of the Glasgow parishes, and been just as confident of a favourable result as I was with the parish of St. John's.

“ The process has been so often explained, that, at present, I shall give a very brief description of it. I undertook, from the outset, the expense of all my then sessional poor, amounting to 225*l.* a year; but as my yearly collection was 400*l.*, I withdrew by this arrangement 175*l.*

from the general support of the poor in Glasgow. The only return which I could then venture to hold out for this sacrifice, was, that I should send no new poor, either casual or permanent, to the Town Hospital, whence the fund by assessment was distributed among all the poor of the city. It is evident, that under this arrangement, that institution would, by the operation of death, be gradually lightened of the pauperism that they had received in former years from that district of the city which now formed the parish of St. John's, and would be at length relieved from it altogether.

"The attentive reader will at once perceive, that the success of this undertaking all hinges on the management of the new cases, or on the way in which the new applicants for parochial relief were met by the dispensers of the parochial charity. The old pauperism, then on the Town Hospital, behoved to die away. Even the then existing pauperism of 225*l.* a year, that was upheld by the collection, must ultimately, and at no great distance of time, disappear, and the essential question, that could only be determined by experience, was, by what amount of new pauperism will the old be replaced?"—pp. 9, 10.

"I had two congregations, a day and an evening one; the first of these wealthy, the second poor. So long as the evening service lasted, which it did from September, 1819, to June, 1823, there did not one farthing of the day collection go to the support of new cases. This day collection, the only one chargeable with a magnitude that distanced all imitation, was employed in keeping up, and occasionally extending the allowances of those sessional poor whom we found already on the roll at the outset of our proceedings; and what remained, after the fulfilment of this purpose, has been chiefly expended in the endowment of parish schools. All the new applications, for three years and nine months, have been met by the evening collection; and with a sum not exceeding 80*l.* a year have we been able to provide for all the newly-admitted pauperism, both casual and regular."—pp. 11, 12.

"But the most interesting question relates to the number of those who have been admitted upon our fund as regular or permanent paupers. The following is an account of them during the period from October 1st, 1819, to July 1st, 1823, being a period of three years and nine months.

"The number of paupers who have been admitted on the ground of general indigence is thirteen. Their monthly expense is 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, and their yearly is 32*l.*

"The number admitted on the ground of extraordinary and hopeless disease is two; one of them being a lunatic, and the other deaf and dumb. Their monthly expense is 1*l.* 4*s.* 8*d.*, and their yearly 14*l.* 16*s.*

"The number admitted on the ground of that necessity which springs from crime is five; there having been two illegitimate children, and three families of runaway husbands admitted upon the fund. Their monthly expense is 1*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, and their yearly is 19*l.* 10*s.*

"The whole number of regular paupers who have been admitted on the parochial funds of St. John's, for three years and nine months, is twenty, at a monthly expense of 5*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.*, and a yearly expense of

66*l.* 6*s.*, during which period there has not one been sent to the Town Hospital, or made chargeable, in any way, on the fund by assessment.*

"We have separated the paupers into classes, for we think that the question, whether any legal provision for indigence is required by the natural state and necessities of any population, should be decided by the first of these classes alone, and not by any, or both of the succeeding ones. We think that institutions for disease might be supported to the uttermost extent of the demand for them; and even though legalized and upheld by assessment, as the county asylums for lunacy in England, we can see none of the indefinite mischief and corruption in such a practice, that there undoubtedly is in our present generalized pauperism. We further hold, in regard to the third class, that there ought to be no public or ordained aliment, tending directly to the multiplication of crimes; and so the question with us, whether there should be such an economy as that of our existing pauperism, resolves itself into the question, whether, apart from the disease, which ought to be provided for, and from the immorality, which ought not to be provided for, there be really any thing in the circumstances of society that necessarily creates such an amount of indigence as to require any other securities for its relief than the unforced sympathies of our nature?

"Our own previous convictions upon this subject have been strengthened into a full and settled assurance by the experience which we have now recorded. That in a plebeian and manufacturing city parish, with upwards of 8000 inhabitants, there should have been admitted only twenty paupers of all classes in the space of three years and nine months; and still more, that of the first class, or the class of general indigence, the number admitted should only be thirteen, and the yearly expense of them 32*l.*, is to us an abundantly decisive proof of a legal or compulsory provision, in any circumstances, being wholly uncalled for."—*Chalmers*, pp. 14—16.

Dr. Chalmers's remarks upon these satisfactory results are not the least interesting or valuable portion of his pamphlet.

"The whole mystery and power of our management are resolvable into this. Most of us are convinced that public charity is a very great evil. Most of us believe it to be a good thing that we are limited to a small yearly sum for carrying on its distributions, and that we have no temptation to laxity or profuseness in the open access which we before had to the fund by assessment. Most of us think that we do a service to the population by dispensing, as carefully as possible, the small revenue wherewith we are intrusted; and these considerations all told with greater practical force upon the deacons who had the treatment of the new applicants committed to them, that they were restricted to the very humble collection made up chiefly of halfpennies from the parochial congregation. I do not hesitate to say, that my reason for vesting in the deacons

* "It is right to mention here, that our sick have occasional attendance and medicine from the district surgeons belonging to the Town Hospital. The town is divided into four departments, and a surgeon attached to each of them. The parish of St. John's forms part of two of these departments."

the charge of the small evening collection alone was, that I felt as if their free access to the large day collection would have insensibly brought on the same relaxation in their management, which access to the Town Hospital did in the management of our elders under the former system. I thought that the work would be the better done, the smaller the provision was that I assigned for the doing of it—for I never once conceived that the success of it depended on the magnitude of our provision, but solely on the truth and efficacy of our principles. These principles the majority of my deacons have in common with myself; and they accordingly thought that in warding off the parochial charity as much as in them lay, from the families under their care, they were warding off from them a very great mischief. And their system of treatment has not, generally speaking, been a system of neglect, but a system of firm and patient, yet withal, kind investigation—the object of which has been, not to facilitate the access of applicants to the parochial charity, but, if possible, to divert it—not to help them on, but rather to help them off—and for this purpose to try every previous expedient of relief, and to make that humiliating expedient of a supply from the poor's fund the very last which ought to be resorted to. In the prosecution of this truly benevolent work, many doubtless have been thrown back upon their own resources; some have drawn more largely than they otherwise would have done, from the kindness of relatives and neighbours; and a few more have had the benefit of certain easy services, and, perhaps, liberalities, from the affluent, that they might not else have experienced. But the success, upon the whole, has been marvellous, and far beyond even my own sanguine anticipations; most delightful to my feelings certainly; and, at the same time, most demonstrative to my understanding, that the dispensations of an artificial pauperism are wholly uncalled for.”—pp. 29—31.

The experiment thus tried in Glasgow has in fact also been tried by Mr. Walker, and the result was just the same. That gentleman undertook the office of overseer or deacon, or whatever we may be pleased to term it, and found that a due discharge of its duties made a speedy and marvellous change in the amount and effects of the Poor Rates levied and expended in the district with which he was connected.

“In August, 1817, an opportunity occurred to me of commencing an experiment on the subject of pauperism in the township of Stretford, in the parish of Manchester—a district partly manufacturing, but principally agricultural, and containing about 2,000 acres of land and as many inhabitants. I began by procuring the adoption of somewhat the same plan as Mr. Sturges Bourne's Select Vestry,* not then legalized—a sug-

* “The Select Vestry, by 59 Geo. 3, c. 12, is composed of the Clergyman, Churchwardens and Overseers for the time being—together with not more than twenty nor less than five substantial householders or occupiers, elected annually by the rate-payers at large.”

gestion of the neighbouring magistrate, Ralph Wright, Esq., whom I consulted in the first instance, and whose co-operation, as well as that of the most respectable inhabitants, I uniformly met with, during a residence at intervals of three years and a half. I soon found that the magistrates as usual had no confidence in the overseers, to the great gain of the paupers, whose appeals from the overseers to the magistrates were incessant. I found that the paupers were insolent in the extreme to the farmers, and in a great measure their masters—that the paupers were leagued together to get as much from the rates as possible, and that they practised all sorts of tricks and impositions for that purpose—that the industrious labourers were discouraged—the well-disposed inhabitants afraid, or persuaded that it was in vain to interfere—and every individual driven to do the best he could for himself or his connections at the general expense. For some time the paupers tried every art to deceive or tire me out, and some of the rate-payers who were ousted from the management thwarted me in secret; but the good effects of the new system became so apparent, both as to economy and good order, that opposition grew less and less, and at last suddenly and entirely ceased. I spent almost my whole time for some months in visiting the labouring classes—in making myself master of their habits—in explaining to them the causes of their distress—and in enforcing, as occasions arose, the doctrines of Mr. Malthus, which I took care to put in the most familiar and pointed manner I was able, and I was surprised to see the effect generally produced—it was as if a new light had broken in upon my hearers. By degrees I gained their confidence—they constantly applied to me to settle their disputes, or for legal advice, or for assistance in whatever difficulties they found themselves; and as I was frequently able to serve them, I found that circumstance of great advantage in carrying into execution any measure of severity or privation. With respect to former abuses in the management, I made it a rule never to look back, but held that neglect on one side and imposition on the other had balanced the account, and that it would be better to look only to the future. I found this plan attended with the best effects. Those who had profited by abuse were glad to escape so easily. Those who really wished for what was right were not revolted by any appearance of harshness; and instead of wrangling about the past, every thing went on well for the present, and not one retrograde movement was made. A few hours in a week soon became sufficient to do all the business, and at last a trifling superintendence was alone necessary. Information came to me from all quarters—the league amongst the paupers was dissolved—appeals to the magistrates, whose unvaried countenance I experienced, entirely ceased—the rates were considerably diminished—the labourers depended more upon themselves and were generally better off—and what was most important, new principles were gaining ground.

“The amount of money paid to the poor during the years of my occasional superintendence, exclusive of the maintenance of those in the workhouse and of the expense of a few articles of clothing, was as follows:—

	£.	s.	d.
" From March 1817 to March 1818	812	16	6
1818	1819	537	19 7½
1819	1820	489	12 6
1820	1821	368	4 0

" When I first interfered, in August, 1817, it was the practice to admit families into the workhouse; at the time my interference ceased, the number of inmates was reduced to eight, viz. six aged persons and two young women—one of the latter half ideotic, and the other labouring under severe disease. Three of the old men broke stones for the roads, and the ideotic girl maintained herself. In fact a workhouse was become quite unnecessary. Before the commencement of the alteration of system, the expenses of pauperism were rapidly increasing, and the reduction was solely owing to that species of amendment in management, which may be put in practice under any circumstances.

" In corroboration of the above statement a letter will be found in the Appendix, No. I. This letter, it will be observed, is dated six years after the commencement of my interference."*—*Walker on Pauperism*, pp. 7—10.

From this statement, compared with the statement of Dr. Chalmers, we think, as we have already said, that the most beneficial inferences may be drawn. The Doctor's system alone is not what we want in England, because the mass of existing pauperism is so enormous, its expense so burdensome, and its effects so distressing, that if all this were to be left as it is, trusting only to the gradual influence of time for effecting its extinction, the relief sought would be too distant, and the good actually accomplished would be undervalued, if not unfelt, in consequence of the continued existence of so much evil. Previously, therefore, to the trial of Dr. Chalmers's method of proceeding with new applicants for parochial relief, let us try Mr. Walker's mode of dealing with those who are already in the receipt of it—let us cut down the actual pauperism and actual expenditure to one half or one third of its present amount by the process which proved so effectual at Stretford—and then by a very minute subdivision of our parishes, by the appointment of a separate overseer to each small district, by a strict limitation of the amount of compulsory levies for the relief of the poor, and ultimately by a total abolition of them,

* " The last opportunity I had of seeing the effects of my system was in September, 1828, when I made the following extract from the Poor's Books.

	£.	s.	d.
May, 1817, Monthly payments to regular poor	68	3	6
1818	-	-	- 33 12 0
1827	-	-	- 15 2 0
1828	-	-	- 13 10 0

The payments of the year 1828-29 to the regular poor would not amount to one-fifth of those of the year 1817-18."

let us imitate the example which has been set by Dr. Chalmers at Glasgow.

In reality there is nothing which need prevent the adoption of this plan to-morrow by any parish which should desire to make a trial of it, except the power of interference possessed by police and county magistrates, against which Mr. Walker contends with so much earnestness and justice.

“ The means I would propose for the commencement of a systematic reduction of pauperism are twofold; first, a practical alteration in the law; and secondly, an organized plan for the improvement of the habits of the labouring classes. In the able Report from the Committee of the House of Commons on the Poor Laws, in 1817, it is observed, ‘ The efficacy of any expedient which can be suggested must depend upon some of those who are most interested in the welfare of a parish taking an active share in the administration of its concerns. Without this the Committee are convinced no benefit will be derived from any amendment that can be made in the details of the system.’ The alteration in the law I am about to suggest is strictly in conformity with this opinion. It is to put an end to magisterial interference in all questions of relief. By the 43d of Eliz. as I have already observed, no such interference was contemplated. By that statute the power of granting relief was vested without controul in the officers of the parish; and the consequences being great abuse on the side of extravagance, an act was passed ninety years afterwards to take the power from the overseers, and place it in the vestry—between the meetings of which the overseers were permitted to obtain the authority of a justice or of the quarter sessions for granting relief in particular cases. It appears this authority, which was intended for the justification of the overseers, was ere long frequently perverted into an order upon them; and the perversion becoming the subject of complaint, instead of being put a stop to, was regulated by parliament thirty years later—but for above half the period which has elapsed since the introduction of the present Poor Laws, the interference of magistrates in questions of relief formed no part of the system. The defect in the alteration lay in placing the power of granting relief in the general vestry, the constitution of which was too unwieldy for the transaction of the business imposed upon it. The Select Vestry Act has completely remedied this defect, and therefore the change I propose is a restoration and not an innovation. The expediency of the change struck me during a practical investigation three years ago, for the reasons which I then wrote down and now subjoin; and looking in consequence into the different Acts, I traced the history above given, which will be found more in detail in the Appendix, No. II. The reasons are as follow:—

“ 1st. The members of the select vestry possess the best opportunities of ascertaining the merits of each particular case. The justices, on the contrary, frequently, and almost necessarily lay down general rules for ordering relief; they have seldom time or the means for coming at the exact truth. It is not possible for the overseer to repeat all the reasons brought forward in the vestry, or to give the same effect to statements at

second hand, which was rightly produced by the character and credit of the persons originally furnishing them. The decision of the vestry was perhaps the result of long discussion and much evidence by the parties best acquainted with the case. The decision of the justices cannot well be the result of anything but a contest between the pauper and the overseer.

“ 2dly. The overseer is often a timid or injudicious advocate for the parish; whereas the pauper is generally extremely artful—the most undeserving being almost always the most plausible, and the idlest in good works the most persevering in obtaining relief.

“ 3dly. If the paupers knew there was no possibility of appeal, they would rely more upon honest exertion and good character, and less upon imposition. As the law now stands, their hopes are always kept alive, and they live in a constant state of uneasiness very prejudicial to their well-being. They would also be effectually deterred from gaining settlements surreptitiously—an evil which no legal enactments have hitherto been able altogether to prevent.

4thly. The considerations of time and expense, necessary in attending the magistrates, operate as a powerful discouragement to parishes to be as strict with their poor as they ought to be. The vestry often submit to what they feel to be an imposition, rather than run the risk of an appeal—especially as they are sometimes obliged to pay the pauper for the time he has spent in harassing the overseer.

“ 5thly. If the decisions of the select vestry were final, I think the management of the poor would, generally speaking, fall into much better hands than heretofore. It is the certain effect of the present system, that men in the same rank with the magistrates, and those a little below, will feel great repugnance to interfere as long as their efforts shall be liable to be rendered of no avail by the counter-decisions of those whose motives cannot be supposed to be more pure, and whose means of judging are necessarily more limited than their own. They feel also that the right of appeal has a tendency to degrade and render them odious in the eyes of the inferior classes, as well as to embroil them with the magistrates. If the management of the poor rested solely with the select vestry, the active would make it their business to attend in the hope of doing good, and the humane to prevent evil. The magistrates too, by being relieved from the necessity of hearing the poor, which is often the most laborious, the most unpleasant, and the most unsatisfactory part of their duties, would have more leisure to attend to the other business brought before them; and many men with high qualifications, at present unwilling to make the necessary sacrifice of time and of ease, might be induced, with this alleviation, to act in the commission of the peace.

“ 6thly, and lastly. The minister of each parish is, ex officio, a member of the vestry, and yet from him, assisted by his most respectable parishioners, lies an appeal to the magistrates on the grounds of inhumanity or injustice. The consequence is, the clergyman, not to expose himself to a great scandal, will seldom attend; and the magistrate, being the judge of appeal, cannot.”—*Walker on Pauperism*, pp. 61—64.

We are hardly prepared to say that in remote and neglected districts, magisterial interference can be altogether and immediately dispensed with. But with respect to towns and to all considerable parishes, we entirely agree with Mr. Walker; and entertain a confident hope that the Poor Law commissioners, who are very properly inquiring into this part of the question, will see reason to recommend the adoption of the alteration which he so ably advocates. If this point were satisfactorily settled, the only remaining obstacle to an experiment such as that of Dr. Chalmers, would be the difficulty of enlisting an adequate number of competent overseers; and this difficulty, we believe, might soon be overcome were due encouragement given to the undertaking. The success which has attended visiting societies, wherever they have been fairly tried, authorises us to reckon upon efficient help from various quarters. The prospect of a great reduction in the poor rates, if clearly explained, would operate with great force upon some who are insensible to other motives. The desire of bettering the condition of the poor would be a sufficient inducement to many others. Occupation should not be without its charms to such as have no business of their own, and are eaten up by idleness and *ennui* in the midst of bustling activity and wretched pauperism. The pains which have been taken during the present year in visiting and cleansing the abodes of the miserable, and administering advice and relief with a view to the prevention of cholera, show what can be done under the sense of urgent necessity, and with a prospect of doing essential good. It would be no difficult task to show that pauperism is a greater evil than any disease, epidemic or contagious, with which this land has yet been afflicted; and to cure it would be to confer a greater benefit upon our fellow creatures, than to eradicate the plague itself. Once persuade a considerable body of men in every parish to take upon themselves the duty of permanent overseers, each assuming the care of a small district, and administering to the necessities of the poor out of a small voluntary fund, and the great work of moral and political and social regeneration will be begun. The more crying enormities by which we are now surrounded, the desecration of the sabbath, the utter wretchedness and improvidence of a large portion of the labouring classes, the incomplete and insufficient education of a large portion of their children, the drunkenness and debauchery which fester in our streets, and even the hordes of criminals of all ages who surround us, would shortly disappear before bands of twenty, thirty, or fifty respectable householders intent upon promoting the general welfare. And the good feeling, which would be called forth by such labours of love, would operate as power-

fully, as speedily, and almost as beneficially upon the rich as upon the poor. The estrangement, not to say the hostility, which now exists between the upper and lower classes, would cease. It would be seen that all have a common interest, and that no rank can be improved or injured without a corresponding improvement or injury to the rest.

When this has been done, we may set about the diminution of crime and the reformation of criminals with some chance of success. These topics are too large to be adequately discussed at present. At the same time we are unwilling altogether to pass over a matter so essentially connected with the improvement of the people, and to the consideration of which we have been led by the natural course of our argument. Men of all parties are agreed as to the deplorable increase of crime—and the total failure of every means, either of prevention or cure, hitherto adopted in this country. And the probable, if not the certain, inference from such a state of things is, that there exists some radical defect in our mode of treating the entire question. This we believe to be the case, but we shall be able to state our meaning more succinctly, after the reader's attention has been directed to the works on crime which are now before us, namely, the Eighth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline, and the Thoughts of the Archbishop of Dublin on Secondary Punishment.

On the subject which falls more immediately within the cognizance of the Society, we lament to find that there is still room for the complaints contained in the following passage:—

“The Committee deeply regret that the hopes which they entertained at the date of their last Report, of the speedy reform of the Gaols under corporate jurisdictions should not have been realized, and that the greater part of these prisons continue in a condition as deplorable as that in which they have been described in the previous Reports of this Society. In proof of the necessity of further legislative measures being adopted on this subject, it may be stated that not less than five thousand persons have been committed to the Gaols attached to local jurisdictions in the course of one year. In several of these prisons there is no effectual separation of the sexes; and in some the keeper does not even reside; in others, the insecurity of the building renders it necessary that irons should be used, and other illegal means of coercion adopted. Many are without any court or yard; and in the greater part of them the sick cannot be separated. In addition to the evils of defective construction, the want of discipline may likewise be attributed to the absence of any rules for the government of the prisoners and the conduct of the officers. There is no employment; no inspection; no moral nor religious instruction; the consequence is that in many instances, these Gaols are establishments for the growth and encouragement of vice and

misery. The Committee might illustrate this general description by referring to several prisons. They will mention, however, but two or three. At one Borough Gaol the incommodiousness and insecurity of the place are much increased from the circumstance of there being no House of Correction, and in consequence offenders of every description are indiscriminately confined together: from the smallness of its size there is no possibility of classing the prisoners, or of setting them to any kind of work or employment. During the year seven boys, under sixteen years of age, who were confined at one time, were obliged to associate with the most hardened offenders, night and day, during a period of two months, there being no possibility of classing them from the want of space. It follows of course that these lads must go out schooled in the practice of every iniquity. The debtors' ward is equally deplorable, owing to the males and females being kept together. Another prison, which is under the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of the principal city in the north of England, is equally defective: here there is no yard or court. It is used for both debtors and criminals, who necessarily associate together, there being only one day-room and four sleeping cells. Confinement in a dungeon is sometimes resorted to as a punishment. The prisoners are allowed to be visited by their friends or associates, unrestricted, at any time during the day, and may have ale and beer brought to them. Another Borough Gaol to which the Committee refer, is a small confined building, consisting of two miserable rooms, each of which has an opening in the wall, secured by iron bars, without any windows. The yard is about twelve feet long, and four feet wide; but the walls are so low and insecure that the prisoners can never be permitted to enjoy the air. Five boys were committed to this prison a short time since for robbing gardens; two of them were ill from only one night's confinement. In winter, the prisoners' sufferings are very severe. Debtors are sometimes confined here. The jurisdiction of the borough extends to the trial of all offences not capital.

“ There is reason to hope, that some decisive measures will be taken by his Majesty's Government, for the effectual reform or entire abolition of these wretched places of confinement; and the Committee pledge themselves to omit no opportunity by which they can promote this desirable object. An Act was passed in 1824, (5 Geo. IV. c. 85,) for amending the “ Gaol Act” of the preceding Session, and for procuring “ Returns” of the state of the Borough Prisons, and those belonging to local jurisdictions, not included in the provisions of the former statute: it was not, however, until the Session of 1829, that the Annual Returns required by this Act were laid before Parliament. These Returns are extremely defective, comprising only 80 prisons; whereas the total number of places of confinement belonging to local jurisdictions amounts to about 130. Since the passing of the second Act, about twenty local jurisdictions have availed themselves of the power which it affords of uniting with counties for the custody and maintenance of their prisoners; and some few others have caused their Gaols to be rebuilt or enlarged: but there is still a considerable proportion of the local prisons which remain unaltered, and are consequently in a very disgraceful state.

These Prisons may be principally divided into two classes; viz. those of which the jurisdictions possess the exclusive right of trying offenders of every description; and others, in which the right of trial does not extend to capital crimes. With respect to the first description it appears but reasonable that in all cases where the authorities persist in exercising the right of trying capitally, and at the same time refuse to send their prisoners to the County Gaol, they should be compelled to render their prisons conformable to the Act of 4 Geo. IV. c. 74; and the same principle ought to apply to other local jurisdictions whose commitments are numerous, and where the greatest number of prisoners at one time during the last three years, has averaged not less than forty."—*Report*, pp. 26—29.

After all that has been said and done during the last twenty years with respect to Prison Discipline, it is a scandalous shame that abuses such as these should still be permitted to exist. And the state of Newgate, of the Hulks, and still more of the generality of Gaols in Scotland, redounds but little to the credit of those from whom the country had a right to expect a reform of such palpable grievances. But our business at present is with the prisoner rather than the prison—and with the remarks of the Committee on the former we most cordially concur.

"Whatever degree of perfection may be attained in the discipline of prisons, it is obviously important to diminish as much as possible the number of committals. The frequency of unnecessary commitments has long been productive of serious evils, by crowding the gaols to the injury and often ruin of the individual, and by obstructing those arrangements which are indispensable to a good system of gaol management.

"A prisoner is committed in the first instance, not for punishment, but for security, that he may be forthcoming on the day of trial. Until of late years, bail could not be admitted on charges of felony; but now, with few exceptions, magistrates are authorized to accept it for all descriptions of offences. This power is, however, not so generally exercised as could be desired. It is true, that sufficient bail is not often rejected; but why should it ever be refused? Although some instances might doubtless occur where the party would abscond, yet on the other hand every non-committal to a prison is a certain benefit, not only to the individual, but to the community at large. On the humbler classes, the inability to procure bail, arising solely from the station which they occupy in society, often operates with peculiar hardship. The security demanded in such cases should be in proportion to, and not beyond, the condition of the party charged with an offence. If in one rank of life a small sum be equivalent to a large amount in another, the poor man who has character among his equals to induce his friends and neighbours to give bail, should not be denied the advantage, because the amount of the security which he can procure is nominally small. Distinctions are already made, and large sums demanded precisely in proportion to the apparent chances of the culprit's desire to abscond. Escape is certainly the evil against which to guard, but not more in one

class of society than in another. There cannot be a question that the number of untried prisoners—the most unmanageable class—might by the general acceptance of bail be reduced to one-half, or even a third, with no injury to the community, with great benefit to the individual, and with material advantage to the discipline of prisons. The large proportion which the number of persons discharged by grand juries, and of those acquitted, bears to the whole number committed, affords strong presumptive evidence of the unsoundness of the present system. Notwithstanding the improvement which has taken place in the law of bail, the magistrates frequently continue the former practice, and too often by so doing relieve themselves from the responsibility of exercising their discretionary power. Cases of petty felonies, such as stealing hedge-stakes, and other articles of trifling value, are now more frequently than heretofore brought to trial. Formerly if a boy was found committing such offences, he was personally chastised and discharged: now there is a solemn judicial investigation. He is seized, committed, imprisoned, tried at the sessions, and convicted with as much form and ceremony as if he had been guilty of a burglary. This disposition to avoid responsibility fills the gaols in another manner. The sessions calendars in the country exhibit a list of the pettiest offences. If, in addition to these, the magistrates were to try, as they do in several counties, some of the graver cases now reserved for the assizes, the labour of the judges would be spared, and the number of prison inmates most materially diminished.”—*Report*, pp. 49—51.

“The distressed condition of juvenile offenders on their discharge from prison has continued to occupy the attention of the Committee, and they have afforded such relief to these necessitous objects as the very limited state of the funds would allow. The prevalence of crime among the youth of the lower orders is well known to be alarmingly great. On the causes which contribute to this evil, the Committee have fully enlarged in their former Reports. Whatever operates to the production of indigence among the adult poor, has, of course, a most unfavourable effect on the moral condition of their families; and the juvenile depravity which now unhappily prevails derives its origin and strength from circumstances too deeply rooted in the present state of society to be materially diminished by any plans, however wise, for the mere punishment of the offender. The diffusion of education is in every point of view the most efficacious remedy for the prevention of crime. By education is meant not merely instruction in the elementary arts of reading and writing, but a course of moral training which shall impart religious impressions, control the passions, and amend the heart. In their previous Reports, the Committee have enlarged on the benefits which the establishment of Infant Schools is calculated to impart to the most indigent classes, and especially in those crowded parts of the metropolis where a single room often contains several families. Beset on every side by the most profligate associations, breathing a moral atmosphere the most corrupt, no benefits can be conceived more precious than those which are presented by these institutions, and it is therefore to be regretted that notwithstanding their obvious importance, they should not

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have become universally established. In regard to the education of the poor generally, it must be acknowledged that the experience of the last thirty years has proved the inefficiency of the exertions made for this purpose, as well by public associations as by private individuals. In the metropolis and populous towns throughout the kingdom the want of education is severely felt, while in the agricultural districts a large proportion of the working classes are in a state of profound ignorance and great moral debasement. But a slight consideration of the subject will show that the moral and religious education of the people is an object too vast in its importance to the well-being of the state, to be left to the voluntary exertions of benevolent individuals, and charitable associations. An Education Act framed on broad and liberal principles, and securing the concurrence of all sects and parties, would be one of the greatest blessings which the legislature could confer; and it is earnestly hoped that the period has at length arrived when a national measure of this high character will provide for every child throughout the kingdom an education comprising the elements of useful knowledge, and based on the solid foundation of Christian principles."—*Report*, pp. 85—87.

Now this is all true; but it is not the whole truth. Over and above the want of education, and the wretched state of our criminal law and of our prisons, there is a fundamental error prevailing in the minds of men, which prevents effectual improvement in this department. Most persons speak and act as if there were no crimes in the world save dishonesty. All but this is tolerated—religion is neglected—purity is made a jest—profaneness is a trifle—but steal half a crown and to gaol you go. No sooner does an apprentice or shop-boy defraud the till of sixpence than the whole neighbourhood is in arms against him. Police magistrates commit—grand juries find a bill—petty juries commit—judges and chairmen expatiate upon the heinousness of the offence—and the result is, imprisonment, loss of character, banishment from respectable society, and, in nine cases out of ten, confirmed habits of thieving, to be cured by nothing on this side of the gallows. What we mean to contend for then is, that this system is wrong, not only in every one of its parts, (this is admitted by all competent inquirers,) but that it is mischievous and bad in its very essence; that dishonesty will never be controlled as long as the law tolerates all other vices; that offences against property must increase from day to day, until other offences are checked and punished; that drunkenness, debauchery, prostitution, sabbath-breaking, lead necessarily to thieving; and that to suppose we can prevent the latter, while the former are suffered to live and flourish, is just as absurd as to make war upon thistle-down with a view to the eradication of thistles.

If we look at the subject in one direction only, we are tempted to suppose that the government of this country disclaims any

right of interference in such matters, and proposes to leave virtue and vice to work their own way in the world in the same way as they leave silk or wool. We see such wanton neglect of public morals that we hardly can believe public men could have been guilty of it, unless they had persuaded themselves that it was not a fault but a duty. But then, on the other hand, we are compelled to perceive and confess that these neglecters of all that is sacred, have occasionally interfered in a manner, which prevents them availing themselves of this plea. They have made police laws, and ale-house laws, and sabbath-day laws—laws against drunkenness, swearing, idling. Wakes and fairs have been put down by act of parliament. Theatres and shows are only allowed under license. Barrow women and prostitutes are subject to special enactments made for their particular superintendence and controul; and there are divers others wholesome provisions, some old, some new, some good, some bad, and many indifferent, for the encouragement and preservation of good manners, and the punishment of wickedness and vice.

On the whole then it is not possible for government to shelter itself under the pretence of having no concern with public morals. Yet that they have taken as little concern as possible about them, is too certain to be denied.

In the original jurisprudence of England, the Court Christian occupied a conspicuous place, and watched over the morals of the people, according to the notions of the age in which it flourished. In process of time, the Roman Catholic Church appropriated the peculiar jurisdiction of the Court Christian to its own ecclesiastical tribunals, and proceeded to encumber those establishments with every absurdity, moral, religious, and political, which was spurned by Canonists and Sophisters in the age of Scotus and Aquinas. And when the Reformation rescued Britain from subjection to Rome, and Cranmer had planned a new code which might have been substituted for the popish law and popish tribunals, and would have been susceptible of gradual improvement and accommodation to the new wants and the new lights of the country, his course of practical usefulness was too soon cut short, and the completion of his work was left to those less able men who ruled the Church under Elizabeth and James, and who, among other bequests with which we are still encumbered, left other ecclesiastical courts in their ancient form to bewilder many a succeeding generation.

That these courts were designed to guard the public morals is evident not only from their history and construction, but even from their present laws and practice, and deeply is it to be regretted that an institution which might have answered the great

and sacred purposes of a Protestant and Reformed Court Christian, should have been allowed to retain so much of the popish leaven as to incapacitate it for this its great duty. The Canons, however, and the Archidiaconal Courts still preserve a semblance of moral power, however faint and ineffectual, and if they are good for nothing else, they are at least valid proof of the intention and original spirit of our constitution, they show that in theory our government professes to care for the morality of its subjects, and they leave it to those who advocate or apologise for the present state of things to reconcile it with the ancient institutions and still existing forms of the commonwealth.

What then, it may be asked, do we wish? Do we wish to see the antiquated forms of the Ecclesiastical Courts revived, and the vicious coerced into good manners? Do we wish to revive prosecutions for immorality, and to punish offenders by making them do public penance? Assuredly we have no intention of the kind. But we desire to impress both upon individuals and upon government the propriety and even the necessity of paying increased attention to the morals of the people. We desire to make our fellow-citizens perceive and remember that as long as the population are wicked, crime will and must abound, and that by reserving all their indignation for one species of offence, namely, for dishonesty, they leave the root of the evil untouched, and prepare increasing trouble and never failing disappointment for themselves—and for their successors a state of society hopeless and desperate, and regularly advancing in misery and vice. If these indisputable truths were acknowledged and attended to, we might hope that more pains would be taken in private to counteract those dissolute habits which are the seed-beds of all crime; and that public provision, very different from what can be discovered at present, would be made in this country, not for dragging the guilty before courts of justice, either civil or ecclesiastical, but for removing as far as possible the incentives to crime, for cleansing the filthy dens in which it is generated, for making vice less obtrusive and infectious, and virtue more practicable.

The first great steps in the career of profligacy are pilfering in one sex and prostitution in the other, and to these the most common and prevailing incentives are drunkenness, gambling, and all idle and excessive pleasure. Nor can it be doubted that a check at least would be given to these practices, if a system of parochial visitation were carried strictly into effect in quarters notorious for the bad characters of their inhabitants. That is to say, an adequate performance of the duties which the rich owe to the poor would bring us into contact with the great source of crime. Let each alley have its own separate visitor or overseer—

personally acquainted with every family, inquiring at regular intervals into their condition, offering the means of education for their children, and remonstrating firmly but kindly with the parents upon any improprieties of which they may appear to be guilty; and habits of cleanliness, decency, and order will be produced where at present the very reverse are to be found. This system persevered in but for a few short months would do more towards filling churches and schools, and towards emptying gaols, than a hundred new volumes of criminal law. It would produce such an overwhelming conviction of the insufficiency of our existing churches, and such a demand for a larger number of working clergy, that means would soon be found for providing both. The due observation of the Lord's Day would become imperative, not only upon those who were themselves truly religious, but upon all who were not prepared to augment and perpetuate vice and crime. A separation, more or less complete, would be effected between the reputable and the disorderly poor, and would render the latter more the objects of inspection and controul. Habits of industry, if not of piety, would be found among boys—and habits of modesty, if not of purity, among girls—who have hitherto been utter strangers to either. And the support of the law and of persons who administer the law, would come in aid of individual exertion and mainly promote the great work.

It is true that a sense of what is due to public morals should especially influence the government and the legislature. Much might be done for the prevention of crime by a resolute attack upon vice. Nothing can be gained by putting down a fair, while there are ten thousand brothels within five miles of London Bridge. Occasionally a disorderly ale-house or gin-shop may be shut up; but for every one so treated, there are at least a hundred equally notorious and abominable which the law will not reach, or the public officer will not prosecute. And can it be pretended that government has done its duty while such a state of things is suffered to continue? We are not conscious of being under the influence of Puritanism or Utopianism. We are no enemies to recreation—and we have no hope of making all men honest; but we say that the poor might have their enjoyments without being publicly tempted to every species of vice; and we are afraid that the optimist will be as far as ever from the realization of his pleasant dreams, even after public countenance is withdrawn from flash-houses, hells and brothels. The vices which spring up naturally in human society must and will continue to deform it, even after all that is possible has been done by law and by religion. But is this a reason why vice should be fostered and cherished? Are not there enough incentives to debauchery without tolerating

what is now to be found in every thoroughfare? May we not be certain that wickedness will still abound, although the laws should cease to pander to its increase, by suffering it to obtrude itself at the corners of the street upon such as may yet be happily ignorant of its power?

Many years have not elapsed since grave men, magistrates, and other officers of police maintained that it was necessary to tolerate flash-houses, in order that they might know where to meet with thieves. Greater or more contemptible nonsense was never uttered. Nevertheless, it gave rise to much discussion, and although none but a driveller would now venture to maintain so absurd a proposition, yet are we more improved in words than in deeds; and while every body sees and acknowledges that a flash-house makes the thief before it kills him, or rather that it makes fifty thieves for one that it tends to convict; yet do these moral pest-houses exist at this moment, in as great numbers and in full security as ever. The same may be said of any other description of disorderly houses, and of those scenes of temptation almost irresistible, by which the morals of the lowest orders in large towns are reduced to their present standard. As long as such a system continues we can only compare the law to a sportsman, who procures foxes in order that he may occasionally have the pleasure of hunting one to death. The nuisance which the laws prohibit, but do not destroy, are the preserves in which criminals breed, and grow up until they attain their full growth; and yet we complain when they sally forth and prey upon the flock. The system is utterly indefensible, and the wonder is that—since all condemn it—it should still be suffered to exist. The new police will have been established in vain if it does not shortly carry the war into the enemies' quarters. Every practice which the law forbids must be effectually put down by this or some other regularly organized force, or it will be a farce to talk of our desire to prevent crime. To punish it most men are willing enough, and in what manner it is punished in this kingdom the reader will shortly see; but it is idle to pretend a wish to counteract what the public institutions of the country may be almost said to patronize and promote.

It is time, however, to turn our attention to the Archbishop of Dublin, whose "*Thoughts on Secondary Punishments*" give a melancholy yet just account of the provision now subsisting in this country for the diminution of crime. His Grace's work contains a Letter to Earl Grey, a republication of an article on Transportation, which appeared originally in the *London Review*, and also of an article on Secondary Punishments from the *Law Magazine*; some Suggestions for the Improvement of our present

System of Colonization; and Extracts from the Eighth Report of the Society for the Improvement of Prison Discipline. With the exception of the "Suggestions on Colonization," most of what is here presented to us has been before the public for several years. But the Archbishop's volume will be read by many whose thoughts had not hitherto wandered as far as Botany Bay; and to all such persons his work will prove useful and interesting. The introductory portion of the letter is contained in the following passage :—

" It has never been my practice, nor is it my intention, to occupy myself with questions of a purely political character ; especially questions of party politics. But the present is not one of that description, and it is so closely connected with morality,—so much do I feel myself, professionally, not only not prohibited, but even called on to take an interest in it, that in investigating the subject, and endeavouring to diffuse correct views of it, I do not conceive that I am at all departing from the course I had marked out for myself. I found myself long since, as a parish minister, inculcating moral conduct under circumstances unfairly disadvantageous ; when the law afforded not only no adequate discouragement to crime, but even, in many instances, a bounty on it. When I met with instances in my own immediate neighbourhood, on the one hand, of persons of the best character not only refusing to proceed against depredators, but labouring in every way to promote the escape of the guilty, because the law denounced death against the offences, and they could not bring themselves to incur even the remote and almost imaginary risk of exposing a thief to that fate ; and, on the other hand, of persons receiving letters from relatives who had been transported, exhorting them to find *some means* of coming out to join them, and depicting the prosperity of their condition in such terms as naturally to excite the envy of the honest and industrious labourers whom they had left at home struggling for a poor subsistence :—when all this, I say, came under my own observation, I could not feel and teach that Government answered its end of being " for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well," while its enactments produced, on the contrary, rather a terror to the good than to the evil. And I could not but feel that, not only as a member of the community, but as a minister of the Gospel, I had a right to complain of this counteraction of my endeavours to diffuse morality.

" The utter inexpediency of the punishment of transportation, of which I have long been convinced, and of which all my inquiries and reflections convince me more and more, is at present much more generally and strongly felt than a few years back. The removal of criminals to our Australian colonies was an experiment ; whose failure, though not anticipated to the extent I should have expected, has in some degree been forced by experience on the minds of most. And many, who still object to any alteration of the system, do so, not so much from conceiving it to be a good one as from despair of finding a substitute.

" If, however (as is, I conceive, decidedly proved in the subjoined

articles), the system of transportation is the very worst of all,—is productive of less advantage, and open to more objections than any that has been proposed or ever can be conceived as a substitute,—our deliberation ought properly to be, not whether or no it shall be continued till we can fix on the best kind of secondary punishment in its stead, but merely what experiment we shall try next; secure that whether, in the first instance, we make the best possible decision or not, any change must be for the better.”—p. 2—5.

We are not prepared to join in this utter rejection of the punishment of transportation; on the contrary, we can conceive cases in which it might prove a powerful check upon crime. At present, no doubt, the case is as the Archbishop of Dublin represents it—veteran thieves, hardened in crime, dead to all sense of shame, cut off from their families, and without any friends but their associates in guilt, are told that when they are detected in the commission of certain delinquencies, they shall be sent for fourteen years, or for life, to New South Wales—and they treat the denunciation with the coolest indifference. But if perpetual banishment were the punishment assigned to felony, and every felon, without exception, were banished for life, we are confident that such a punishment would be dreaded, and have very little doubt that it would tend to prevent crime. Its operation upon juvenile offenders would be very different from that upon confirmed thieves. The love of country, and the fear of exile, are to be found in almost every bosom. And parents, wives, relations, all look upon a perpetual separation as a grievous calamity, as long as there is the slightest hope of reforming the offender. Again, if criminals were transported for life, upon their first conviction for felony, they would not necessarily be a curse to the land of their exile; many of them, upon finding themselves in a new land, might adopt a new course of life. We have no right to say that a felon, banished for his first offence, would be incurable, because practised thieves are hardly ever cured. And it is quite possible that a penal colony, well conducted, might give a criminal every chance of amendment which can be afforded in the best managed penitentiaries, with two great additional advantages—namely, the power of maintaining himself easily by his labour—and the absence of that grievous and almost insuperable temptation arising from loss of character in his mother country, which can never be effectually shaken off.

With respect to the offences of the young, the Archbishop of Dublin observes—

“And more especially should all mixture of juvenile delinquents with older, and probably more hardened villains, be carefully avoided. The

evils of this are so generally perceived, that it is very common, partly for this reason, and partly from a feeling that allowance should be made for the transgressions of children, for magistrates to dismiss them with impunity 'in consideration of their youth.' But I cannot conceive a more pernicious practice than this of holding out to children the encouragement of impunity. If there is no proper place or mode provided for the punishment of young offenders, that is a reason for earnestly calling on the legislature to lose no time in providing one; not for leaving them unpunished.

"If, indeed, the infliction of suffering on the guilty were in itself a desirable object, we might console ourselves with the thought that the young culprit would be pretty sure not to escape ultimately. The fisherman who throws back the small fish into the water, in expectation that when they are grown large he shall catch them again, has seldom better ground for being confident of this, than we have for expecting that he who in childhood has been encouraged, by the prospect of impunity, to commence a career of crime, will persevere in it, as he grows up,—will have formed early habits, too strong to be subsequently eradicated by the denunciation of punishment against the *man*, and will probably end his days on the gallows, or in the hulks. But if our object be, as that of every penal-legislator ought to be, the *prevention* of crime, no opportunity should be lost of checking its first beginnings. I should say that the denunciation of punishment to young, and, consequently, as yet less hardened offenders, is even the *more* important, as the more likely to be effectual. 'If you had punished instead of applauding me,' said the man in the well-known tale, to his mother, 'when I first pilfered from my school-fellows, you would not now have to witness my disgraceful death.'

"And it should be remembered, that it is not to the children alone, but also to those proficient in crime who act as their tutors and employers, that this procedure offers encouragement. The youthful depredator is generally the tool of a more experienced offender; who so contrives matters that, in case of detection, nothing shall be brought home to himself, and that thus both shall escape,—the one on account of his youth, the other through his caution in acting through the instrumentality of his young associate.

"But even independently of this consideration, I should still say, that to repress, or nip in the bud, evil habits, is so incomparably a more hopeful task than to attempt eradicating or repressing them when fully formed, that, even for the sake of the juvenile offenders themselves, impunity ought never to be held out to them.

"On a similar principle (if I may be allowed what cannot, I trust, be thought an impertinent digression), I should deprecate the common practice of passing over 'first offences.' That a scale of punishment, indeed, rising in severity on each repetition of an offence, should (not at the discretion of the magistrates, but by the laws) be provided, is reasonable and desirable; but that absolute impunity, or such a mitigation of punishment as nearly amounts to this, should be held out to 'first offences,' tends, I am convinced, very greatly to increase the

number of second and third offences, and the amount of punishments we are ultimately obliged to inflict. In fact, next to the abolition of all penal law, I can hardly conceive any system better calculated to train boys and men gradually to crime. Every one, it should be remembered, hopes, when he violates the laws, to escape conviction; if, in addition to this, we back the temptations to crime by a prospect of impunity on the first conviction, we have every reason to expect that, by the time this first conviction has taken place, he will have become too much hardened in iniquity to be subsequently affected by the fear of punishment, except in using all the artifice and caution his experience will have taught him, in contriving to escape detection. For this, also, should be kept in mind; that the plea of a 'first offence' is generally urged and admitted without any ground. It is urged on the occasion of a first conviction, which, we may be assured, by no means implies a first offence. The mischief would be immensely diminished, if the plea were then only admitted when the culprit was able to prove a negative; and to establish satisfactorily that he really never had offended before. But, even in that case, I should appeal to the proverb, — '*C'est le premier pas qui coute.*' A man is much more easily deterred by fear of punishment, or by any other motive, from the first offence, than from any subsequent one: and, next to this, his best chance is, to have the association established in his mind between crime and suffering, by his having been so fortunate as to have been convicted and punished for his very first transgression."

No difference of opinion can exist respecting the truth of these sentiments. But perhaps they do not completely solve the problem, how to treat a juvenile offender. The practical question is not between youth and age, but between habitual crime and a first fault; and in the present state of laws, gaols, and public opinion, a prosecutor, if not a magistrate, may be fully justified in forgiving a young thief rather than in sending him to prison. When a criminal lives by thieving, or belongs to a gang of depredators, the archbishop's reasoning is strictly applicable; but we suspect that more harm is done by proclaiming a man a thief, taking away his character, and leaving him with the least possible prospect of recovering his credit, than by passing over a first offence. If punishments existed which were dreaded, and were not corrupting, the case would be different. We were rather surprised to meet with the following observations upon criminal lunatics.

"Obvious as these principles are, they are frequently overlooked, not only in such cases as I have already alluded to, but also in those which relate to persons suspected of insanity. Strangely-confused notions seem often to occupy the mind both of judges who give directions, and of juries who endeavour to act on them, as to the question, how far a person labouring under any degree of derangement is a proper subject of punishment. I have known judges enter into most perplexed and unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions, on the question

how far such and such a person was capable or not of 'distinguishing right from wrong,' or was in a 'sound state of mind' at the time of his doing a certain act, &c. And the decisions of juries accordingly have been, in such cases, as inconsistent with each other, as might have been expected, considering that they were not formed on any clear and intelligible principle. *No man* can be, properly speaking, in a sound state of mind when he commits a crime. He whose passions so prevail over his reason as to induce him to commit murder, for instance; or who coolly and deliberately commits it, fully aware of his own wickedness in so doing; or again who has persuaded himself that it is not a wicked but a meritorious action,—like the persecutors of the first Christians, who 'thought that whosoever killed them, did God service;'—all these persons are, in some sense, in a disordered state of mind, whether that disorder proceed from any bodily disease or not. But the principle on which we are to proceed in awarding punishment, is very simple, if we do but steadily keep in mind the *end* of human punishment, prevention. If a man *intends* to do what he does, and not otherwise, he is a proper subject for punishment; because a person so circumstanced may be deterred (as it is well known persons confessedly insane often are) by the fear of punishment. If it is clear that he did not intend the act, whether the absence of intention be referable to insanity, or to any other cause, his punishment would answer no good purpose. If a man, for instance, who raises a fire, can be proved to have laboured under such a kind of insanity as not to know that fire would consume, he is properly exempted from punishment, on the very same ground that another would be who should throw a spark on gunpowder, which he believed to be dust; because no punishment denounced against incendiaries could operate on persons so circumstanced, *viz.* who have no design of the kind. But if a man designs to burn a house, or to do any other act, we have nothing to do with the causes which led to his entertaining such a design. We know on the one hand, that no one can be, strictly speaking, in a sound state of mind, who designs any crime; and we know, on the other hand, that many, who have been impelled to such designs by the strongest and most evidently morbid aberrations of intellect, have yet shown, by the precautions they have taken for accomplishing their purpose undetected, that they were fully aware of the particular act they were engaged in, and consequently that they, and others similarly circumstanced, might be checked by the apprehension of punishment.

"In fact, although no one considers the brute animals as moral agents, every one is well aware that it is possible to operate on them through the fear of punishment. It is not reckoned a useless cruelty, or an absurdity, to attempt to teach a dog, by beating, to abstain from worrying sheep. Any one, therefore, who, well knowing that irrational animals can be trained, by fear of punishment, to check their impulses, yet would proclaim impunity to any *man* who may be, partially or wholly, reduced to the state of an irrational animal—such a one plainly shows that he is allowing his views to be influenced by irrelevant considerations."

This passage smacks somewhat of those perplexed and unintelligible metaphysical disquisitions which the archbishop has occasionally heard from the judges of the land. No end can be answered by confounding two things so clearly distinguishable as the unsoundness of mind which arises from vice, and the unsoundness of mind which arises from disease. And the remark, that if “a man *intends* to do what he does, and not otherwise, he is a proper subject of punishment,” is not applicable to lunatics. Persons labouring under a bodily disease, which destroys or perverts their reason, are not punishable for crimes otherwise than by confinement. Because although they may have used their wits, such as they are, in planning, and even in concealing a crime, no man can say that they have not been induced to commit the crime by madness. The defence is sometimes abused, and is unavoidably liable to abuse. But that arises from the imperfection of all human tribunals. Wherever there is reason to think that a person slightly or doubtfully insane, has committed a crime, reckoning upon acquittal on the score of insanity, the law will take its course. Yet to hang a *bonâ fide* madman, would be not less brutal than absurd. He may have “intended” to commit a murder,—but how does it follow that therefore he may be deterred by fear of punishment? We admit that some madmen, on some occasions, may be influenced by fear of punishment, and therefore coercion and threats are justifiable and proper modes of treatment in such cases. But if these are found insufficient, as is the case at times with almost all lunatics, the practise is not to proceed to other and to more severe punishments, but to have recourse to prevention. A dangerous lunatic is handcuffed or otherwise prevented from doing mischief. Would the archbishop advise that he should be set at liberty, and hanged for the first murder he may commit, provided he evidently intended it? If not, why hang the lunatic whose disposition to murder manifested itself for the first time before he was placed under restraint? A madman, under delusion, will intend and contrive and execute; and yet because he is mad, will be inaccessible to all the reasons which should deter him from what he is about. Suicide, the crime most frequently committed by the insane, arises chiefly from this. They feel a desire to quit life—and they cannot be deterred from the gratification of it, by the motives which influence men in their senses.

In the same way a madman, who is angry with another person instead of with himself, rushes to the gratification of his passion, without that power of self-restraint, which other murderers possess, whether they use it or not. The archbishop, therefore, when he asserts, that whosoever intends a thing may be deterred by fear of punishment, must limit his proposition to the same.

The very essence of insanity consists in not being influenced by the same motives, or convinced by the same arguments as persons of sound mind. The existence of insanity in any particular case is a question of fact; and if it appear to a judge or jury that a man's mind is unsound, that is to say, that owing to bodily disease he is not able to distinguish between right and wrong, or not able to adhere to the one and reject the other, or that he does not possess the power over his passions usually possessed by his fellow-creatures, then the law which spares his life is a wise and righteous provision.

The suggestions of his Grace, respecting the employment of convicts and the appointment of a commission for penitentiary purposes, are worthy of special attention :—

“In respect of the kind of labour in which it may be thought advisable that convicts should be employed, I would suggest, that, though it is in itself very desirable that it should be profitable enough to go some considerable way in defraying the expense of their maintenance, this is by no means a point of so much importance as many others, to which accordingly we should be always ready to sacrifice it. The best conducted of the American penitentiaries are said to defray fully all their own expenses, from the proceeds of the prisoners' labour. This, I conceive, cannot be expected in any country which does not combine, to such an extraordinary degree as America, the advantages of a very high value of labour and cheapness of provisions. But even if this, or something nearly approaching to it, could be attained, I should still say that it is an object of far less consequence than the moral improvement of the offenders, or, still more, the prevention of crime by the apprehension of punishment. That a penalty should be *formidable* is, as I have said, decidedly the first point to be looked to: that it should be *corrective* is another point of great, though far inferior, consequence: that it should be *economical*, is (though by no means insignificant) a matter of only a third-rate importance.

“There are several different descriptions of labour which have each some circumstances to recommend them. And it would be, besides, absolutely necessary to resort to more than one; inasmuch as the kind of labour that might be found most suitable for able-bodied adult males, would not be adapted to infirm persons, women, and children. I should be disposed to give a preference, other points being equal, to such kinds of labour as the convict might resort to after his discharge, as a means of maintenance; and, with this view, to such as may be carried on without the aid of much machinery. In this respect, the labour of the tread-mill is less eligible than many others. It has, however, many great advantages to counterbalance that defect. In many instances, recourse might be had to some of the less artificial and more laborious operations of husbandry, such as trenching, stone-picking, &c. This would require a larger number of such overseers as could be relied on for vigilance and firmness, to prevent the escape of convicts; but I think there are sufficient advantages on the other side, to make this plan well deserving of a

trial. In particular, it would afford great facilities for the adoption (which I consider as highly important) of the system of task-work.

“Convicts should never be allowed, as in New South Wales, to be employed and paid by farmers: but the superintendents might contract for the levelling, draining, or trenching, &c. of a piece of ground, and would then set the convicts to work under their own inspection. And though the payment for this, and indeed any other labour of convicts, could seldom be expected to cover the cost of their maintenance and other expenses, it might still be regarded as so much clear gain, since they *must* be maintained at any rate.

“An experiment has, I understand, been begun on a small scale on the Sussex coast, in the neighbourhood of Pevensey; which, whether successful or not as a matter of speculation, may be well worthy of attention in reference to our present object. There is, in that neighbourhood, an enormous extent of sea-beach forsaken by the sea, and presenting an expanse of seemingly hopeless sterility. It has been found, however, that the shingle, when covered over to the depth of a few inches with good soil, will produce good crops, and may be permanently reclaimed. And the immediate vicinity presents an inexhaustible supply of such soil. The marshy meadows which are immediately bounded by this barren region, contain a vast depth of rich alluvial soil. The method, accordingly, which I have alluded to as in a course of trial, consists in digging up this soil to a considerable depth, and spreading it over the shingle: the pit thus dug is filled up again with shingle from the beach, to within about a foot of the surface; and these pebbles, being then covered with a sufficient depth of the soil dug out, and the turf replaced, the meadow is so far from being damaged by the removal of the soil, that it is even benefited, by the substratum of gravel acting as an underdrain. The process is, of course, expensive; but it is important to observe, that the whole of the expense consists of the *labour* employed. Whether it will, in any case, answer as a profitable speculation, must probably depend on the existing rate of wages: and it has come to my knowledge, that in many parishes in that part of Sussex, labourers will, at all times of the year, refuse to work except at the highest wages, *because they receive a parish allowance whenever they are out of work*. This system, I hope and trust, will not be allowed to continue much longer. But at any rate, though it may be doubtful whether this undertaking will in any case answer, *i. e.* more than replace the expense of maintaining the labourers, especially when these are convicts, it must at least repay a *part* of the expense; and every acre of land thus brought into a productive state by the labour of those who, whether employed or unemployed, must have been maintained at the public expense, may, as I have before observed, be regarded as so much clear gain to the community.”—p. 37—42.

“Nor, again, do I conceive that this suggestion could be properly acted on, except by persons not only selected for their intelligence, experience, or habit of attention to the subject, but also able to devote the principal part of their time and thoughts to the business. For this reason, parliament, or the members of the administration, would be

unable, without calling in other assistance, to do justice to an inquiry so multifarious and so important.

“ I will take the liberty, therefore, of most earnestly recommending the appointment of a Board of Commissioners, analogous to that which is now occupied with the no less important subject of the poor-laws, and from whose labours every one, who is acquainted with the character of the individuals composing it, must hope for the most favourable results.

“ Whether the legislature is constituted in one way or in another, it is clearly impossible that it should be capable of going through, with proper care, all the necessary details of that vast and heterogeneous mass of business which belongs to its decision. And those who are at all acquainted with parliamentary proceedings, have no need to be reminded how much slovenly legislation has resulted from the non-adoption, or very slight and imperfect adoption, in the highest department of all, of that important principle, division of labour; but for which, even the humblest arts could never have been brought to any degree of perfection. Let the task of minute investigation, and uninterrupted reflection, on each subject separately, be entrusted to a small number of competent persons, expressly selected for the purpose; and let the legislature examine and judge of the result of their labours; adopting, rejecting, or modifying their suggestions, as it may see best; and I am much mistaken if a striking effect will not be produced in the increased wisdom of its enactments, in all departments in which such a procedure shall have been adopted.

“ I will not presume to point out in full detail what should be the points, relative to the present subject, to be laid before such a Board of Commissioners as I have proposed; but I would suggest that they should not be too strictly confined to their own proper subject of secondary punishment; because, in respect of, first, capital punishments, and secondly, police regulations, it is possible that many facts might be ascertained, and many improvements in our present practice suggested, which might, in various ways, materially modify our practical conclusions in respect of secondary punishments. Every thing, for example, that in any way conduces to the increase or diminution of crime, must have an important bearing on the question as to the more or less extensive scale, on which it may be requisite that penitentiaries should be established.”—pp. 43—45.

Some measure of this kind is indispensable, not only in the department of the poor laws and of criminal justice, but in every other into which it is intended to introduce necessary and safe reform. The great obstacle to improvement in the church, the law, and several other branches of government, has been the want of a very efficient and responsible body of men, with whom it might originate. It was altogether impossible that an Archbishop of Canterbury, a Lord Chancellor, or a Home Secretary, should alone undertake the responsibility and labour of devising and recommending what ought to be done in their respective

departments ; the readiness which is now manifested to appoint commissioners on essential subjects of inquiry, may be regarded as one of the best symptoms of the times.

We alluded some time back to the suggestions for the improvement of our system of colonization, which are subjoined to the volume before us. The truth of the following statement, which is extracted from it, will, we think, be universally admitted.

“ We send out colonies of the limbs, without the belly and head ;— of needy persons, many of them mere paupers, or even criminals ; colonies made up of *a single class* of persons in the community, and that the most helpless, and the most unfit to perpetuate our national character, and to become the fathers of a race whose habits of thinking and feeling shall correspond to those which, in the mean time, we are cherishing at home. The ancients, on the contrary, sent out *a representation of the parent state—colonists from all ranks*. We stock the farm with creeping and climbing plants, without any trees of firmer growth for them to entwine round. A hop-ground left without poles, the plants matted confusedly together, and scrambling on the ground in tangled heaps, with here and there some clinging to rank thistles and hemlocks, would be an apt emblem of a modern colony. They began by nominating to the honourable office of captain or leader of the colony, one of the chief men, if not the chief man of the state,— like the queen bee leading the workers. Monarchies provided a prince of the blood royal ; an aristocracy its choicest nobleman ; a democracy its most influential citizen. These naturally carried along with them some of their own station in life,—their companions and friends ; some of their immediate dependents also—of those between themselves and the lowest class ; and were encouraged in various ways to do so. The lowest class again followed with alacrity, because they found themselves moving *with*, and not *away from* the state of society in which they had been living. It was the same social and political union under which they had been born and bred ; and to prevent any contrary impression being made, the utmost solemnity was observed in transferring the rites of Pagan superstition. They carried with them their gods—their festivals—their games ; all, in short, that held together, and kept entire the fabric of society as it existed in the parent state. Nothing was left behind that could be moved,—of all that the heart or eye of an exile misses. The new colony was made to appear as if time or chance had reduced the whole community to smaller dimensions, leaving it still essentially the same home and country to its surviving members. It consisted of a general contribution of members from all classes, and so became, on its first settlement, a mature state, with all the component parts of that which sent it forth. It was a transfer of population, therefore, which gave rise to no sense of degradation, as if the colonist were thrust out from a higher to a lower description of community.

“ Let us look now at the contrast which a modern colony presents, in all these important features, and consider the natural results.

Want presses a part of the population of an old-established community such as ours. *Those who are suffering under this pressure* are encouraged to go and settle themselves elsewhere, in a country whose soil, perhaps, has been ascertained to be fertile, its climate healthy, and its other circumstances favourable for the enterprize. The protection of our arms, and the benefit of free commercial intercourse with us and with other nations, are held out as inducements to emigrate. We are liberal, perhaps profuse, in our grants of pecuniary aid from the public purse. We moreover furnish for our helpless community a government, and perhaps laws; and appoint over them some tried civil or military servant of the state, to be succeeded by others of the same high character. Our newspapers are full of glowing pictures of this land of milk and honey. All who are needy or discontented—all who seek in vain at home for independence and comfort, and future wealth, are called on to seize the golden moment, and repair to it.

‘Eja!

‘Quid statis? Nolint. Atque licet esse beatis.’

Those who do go, have, for the most part, made a reluctant choice between starvation and exile. They go, often indeed with their imaginations full of vague notions of future riches, for which they are nothing the better: but they go, with a consciousness of being *exiled*; and when they arrive at their destination, it is an exile. I am not now alluding to the morbid sensibilities of a refined mind: I am speaking of the uneducated clown, the drudging mechanic. His eye and his heart miss in all directions objects of social interest, on the influence of which he never speculated; but which he nevertheless felt, and must crave after. He has been accustomed, perhaps, to see the squire’s house and park; and he misses this object, not only when his wants, which found relief there, recur; but simply because he, from a child, has been accustomed to see gentry in the land. He has been used to go to his church; if the settlement be new, there is no place of worship. He has children old enough for school; but there is no schoolmaster. He needs religious comfort or instruction, or advice in the conduct of his life; there is no parson, and no parson’s wife. His very pastimes and modes of relaxation have been so associated with the state of society, in which he learnt to enjoy them, that they are no longer the same to him. In short, no care has been taken, as was the custom formerly, to make especial provision for the cravings of his moral nature; no forethought to carry away some of the natural soil about the roots of the tree that has been transplanted. We have thought of our colonist, only as of so much flesh and blood requiring to be renewed by food, and protected by clothing and shelter; but as for that food of the heart, which the poor man requires as much as the more refined, although of a different quality, it has not been thought of.

“Nor is this defect in our system of colonization, one that merely affects the happiness of the emigrant-colonist, by adding to the strangeness of his condition, and keeping alive a mischievous regret for his old country. He was a member of a community made up of various

orders; he was a wheel in a machine of a totally different construction; it is a chance if he answers under circumstances so different. He must adapt his habits of thinking and acting to the change; and in doing this he ceases to be an Englishman. He has no longer, probably, his superior in wealth to ask for pecuniary assistance; his superior in education to ask for instruction and advice. His wits are doubtless sharpened by the necessity of doing without these accustomed supports; but whilst he learns to be independently sacrificing some objects, or by otherwise supplying some, he finds himself and those around him gradually coalescing into a community of a totally different character from that which they left at home. Witness the United States of America. Let any thoughtful observer consider the traits of character that distinguish these children of our fathers from Englishmen of the present day; and the probable causes of the difference. We are apt enough, indeed, to ridicule as foibles, or to censure as faults, their national peculiarities—their deviations from our habits. But it would be wiser and worthier of us to trace them to their causes, and to add the result of our inquiry to our stock of legislative experience. We sent them forth poor and struggling only for the means of subsistence. Is it we that should taunt them with becoming a money-making, trafficking people? We severed the humble from the nobles of our land, and formed the embryo of a plebeian nation. Is it we that should find fault with their extravagant abhorrence of rank, or their want of the high breeding and gentle blood which we so sparingly bestowed on them? We gave for the new community only some of the ingredients that enter into our own. Can we wonder at the want of resemblance and of congenial feeling, which has been the result?”—pp. 191—195.

The scheme which this anonymous but able author suggests for the formation of new colonies is thus described:—

“Much has been said lately about enlarging our colonies, or establishing new ones, in order to relieve Great Britain of a portion of its needy population. Our success, experience shows, must be purchased, if at all, at an enormous rate, and the final result must be the rise of states, which, like those in America, may be destined to influence the character and manners of the whole world, and to form important portions of civilized society, without deriving from us any of that national character on which we so much congratulate ourselves, owing their national character, in fact, to chance, and that chance a very unpromising one.

“But what is to be done? Are we to force our nobles and gentry to join the herd of emigrants? They have no need to go,—no inclination to go; and why should they go? What inducement can we hold out sufficient to allure them? Can we afford to bribe them? They may, I conceive, be bribed to go; but not by pounds, shillings, and pence. Honour, and rank, and power, are less ruinous bribes than money, and yet are more to the purpose, inasmuch as they influence more generous minds. Offer an English gentleman of influence and compe-

tent fortune (though such, perhaps, as may fall much short of his wishes) a sum of money, however large, to quit his home permanently and take a share in the foundation of a colony; and the more he possesses of those generous traits of character which qualify him for the part he would have to act, the less likely is he to accept the bribe: But offer him a patent of nobility for himself and his heirs,—offer him an hereditary station in the government of the future community, and there will be some chance of his acceding to the proposal. And he would not go alone. He would be followed by some few of those who are moving in the same society with him,—near relations, intimate friends. He would be followed by some, too, of an intermediate grade between him and the mass of needy persons that form the majority of the colony,—his immediate dependents,—persons connected with them, or with the members of his household. And if not *one*, but some half-dozen gentlemen of influence were thus tempted out, the sacrifice would be less felt by each, and the numbers of respectable emigrants which their united influence would draw after them so much greater. A colony so formed would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged he would find its relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country. There would then be little more in Van Diemen's Land, or in Canada, revolting to the habits and feelings of an emigrant, than if he had merely shifted his residence from Sussex to Cumberland or Devonshire,—little more than a change of natural scenery.

“ And among the essential provisions which it would then be far easier to make than at present, is the appointment of one or more well-chosen clergymen. It is so great a sacrifice to quit, not simply the place of abode but the habits of society to which an educated man is brought up, that, as our new colonies are constituted, it would be no easy matter to obtain accomplished clergymen for them. In truth, however, it makes no part of our colonization plans; and when a religious establishment is formed in any of these settlements, it has to contend with the unfavourable habits which have been formed among Christians, whose devotions have been long unaided by the presence of a clergyman or a common place of worship. By an accomplished clergyman, however, I do not mean a man of mere learning or eloquence, or even piety, but one whose acquirements would give him weight with the better sort, and whose character and talents would at the same time answer for the particular situation in which he would be placed.

“ The same may be urged in respect of men of other professions and pursuits. The desirable consummation of the plan would be, that a specimen or sample, as it were, of all that goes to make up society in the parent country should at once be transferred to its colony. Instead of sending out bad seedlings, and watching their uncertain growth, let us try whether a perfect tree will not bear transplanting: if it succeeds, we shall have saved so much expense and trouble in the rearing; as soon as it strikes its roots into the new soil it will shift for itself. Such a colony, moreover, will be united to us by ties to which one of a different

constitution must be a stranger. It will have received from us, and will always trace to us, all its social ingredients. Its highest class will be ours ; its gentry ours ; its clergy ours ; its lower and its lowest ranks all ours ; all corresponding and congenial to our manners, institutions, and even our prejudices. Instead of grudgingly casting our morsels to a miserable dependant, we shall have sent forth a child worthy of its parent, and capable of maintaining itself."—p. 196—199.

In bringing this long article to a close, we venture to express a hope that the existing government will act vigorously in all these important matters. Their predecessors might justify or excuse non-interference, by the fact that it was their system "to use all gently," to run no risks, to submit to many well known evils rather than risk an encounter with others which they knew not. But the statesmen now in power cannot plead timidity, for they have made the boldest experiment ever heard of in this country ; and if they wish to have their motives favourably construed, they must prove that they have not been influenced by personal or party considerations, but are genuine, conscientious reformers. They have dared to remodel Parliament ; let them not hesitate to cut away our absurd and rotten criminal law, and our all-devouring poor-rates. If they go manfully to work, and correct the great practical evils by which we are overrun, good men of all parties will thank and bless them, and ultimately be converted into friends and supporters of their administration.

STATE OF THE DIOCESES

IN

ENGLAND AND WALES,

FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

PREFERRED.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Hawkhurst, C. . . } V. . . }	Kent . . .	C. G. Hutchinson	Christ Ch. Oxford.
York.			
Holmfirth, C. . . .	W. York . .	R. E. Leach . .	V. of Kirkburton.
North Otterington, V. } and Thornton-le- } Street, V. . . . }	York . . .	F. A. Sterkey . .	Christ Ch. Oxford.
Speeton, P. C. . . .	E. York . .	George Kennard }	W. J. Dennison, Esq.
Yeddingham, V. . . .	E. York . .	John Ellis . . .	M.P. Earl Fitzwilliam.
London.			
London, St. Mich. and } Trin. R. Queen- } hithe }	London . .	James Lupton . .	Dn. & Ch. of St. Paul's.
Paddington, New C. . .	Middlesex .	James S. Boone .	C. of Paddington.
Wormley, R.	Herts . . .	Thomas Pickthall	Sir A. Hume, Bart.
Durham.			
Easington	Durham . .	H. Liddell . . }	Annexed to Archdea-
Esk, C.	Durham . .	J. Thompson, jun. }	conry of Durham.
Hetton, C.	Durham . .	J. S. Nichol . . }	C. of Lanchester. R. of Houghton le Spring.

Preferment	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Winchester.			
Banstead, <i>V.</i>	Surrey . .	W. Lewis Buckle	Rev. W. L. Buckle.
East Clandon, <i>R.</i> . . .	Surrey . .	J. Ward . . .	Lord King.
Guildford, <i>St. Nich. R.</i>	Surrey . .	H. N. Pearson, D.D.	Dean of Salisbury.
Lambeth, <i>St. John's, C.</i> }	Surrey . .	Robert Irvine . }	Dr. D'Oyly, as Rector of Lambeth.
Waterloo Road . }			
Littleton, <i>P. C.</i>	Hants . .	W. Nix. Hooper	D. & C. of Winchester.
(Minor Can. in Cath. Ch. of Winchester.)			
Newport, <i>C.</i>	Isle of Wight	H. Worsley . .	V. of Carisbrooke.
Bath and Wells.			
Aisholt, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	John West . .	J. West, Esq.
Fifehead, <i>V. and</i> }	Somerset .	Ames Hellicar .	D. & C. of Bristol.
Swell, <i>V.</i> }			
Greinton, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	Cha. Kekewich }	Sir T. Blomefield, Bt. & Rev. R. S. Barker.
Merriott, <i>V.</i>	Somerset .	Joseph Cross .	
Milton Puddimore, <i>R.</i>	Somerset .	H. D. Serrell .	William Millar, Esq.
Chesler.			
Manchester, <i>St. Michael, C.</i> . . . }	Lancaster .	E. D. Jackson .	Mrs. Owen.
Milnrow, <i>C.</i>	Lancaster .	Francis R. Raines	V. of Rochdale.
Chichester.			
Alfriston, <i>V.</i>	Sussex . .	Charles Smyth .	Lord Chancellor.
Ninfield, <i>V.</i>	Sussex . .	John Phillips .	Earl of Ashburnham.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of	Chichester .	— Davey . . .	Bishop of Chichester.
Exeter.			
Exeter, <i>St. David, P. C.</i>	Devon . .	E. C. Harington	V. of Heavitree.
Newton Tracey, <i>R.</i> . .	Devon . .	J. Dene . . .	Lord Chancellor.
Paington, <i>V. and</i> }	Devon . .	Robert Gee . .	Rev. R. Gee.
Marldon, <i>C.</i> . . . }			
Pinhoe, <i>V.</i>	Devon . .	Dacres Adams .	The Lord Bishop.
Plymtree, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	Joseph Dornford	Prov. Oriel Coll. Oxf.
St. Budeaux, <i>C.</i> . . .	Devon . .	B. S. Vallack . }	V. of St. Andrew, Plymouth.
Stoke Fleming, <i>R.</i> . .	Devon . .	Arthur Farwell }	G. Farwell, Esq. and Rev. W. I. Birdwood.
Sydenham Damarell, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	John Gillard .	John Carpenter Esq.
Woodley, <i>R.</i>	Devon . .	G. Burrington .	Rev. R. Edmonds.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
Ely.			
Foxton, <i>V.</i>	Cambridge .	J. W. Berry . .	The Lord Bishop.
Impington, <i>V.</i>	Cambridge .	Edward Bushby	D. & C. of Ely.
Weston Colville, <i>R.</i> . .	Cambridge .	W. Acton . . .	John Hall, Esq.
Gloucester.			
Ashchurch, <i>P. C.</i> . . .	Gloucester .	F. H. Rowney .	On his own Petition.
Coaley, <i>V.</i>	Gloucester .	Thomas Steele .	Lord Chancellor.
Kemmerton, <i>V.</i> . . .	Gloucester .	John Goodman	{ Mayor & Corporation of Gloucester.
Oddington, <i>R.</i>	Gloucester .	W. Sweet Escott	
Lichfield & Coventry.			
Alrewas, <i>V.</i>	Stafford . .	John Moore . .	{ Chancellor of Lichfield Cathedral.
Bridgenorth St. Leon, <i>C.</i>	Salop . . .	Henry Dalton .	
Carsington, <i>R.</i>	Derby . . .	H. B. Chinn . .	T. Whitmore, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Lichfield .	Jeremiah Smith	Bp. of Lichfield and Coventry. .
Lincoln.			
Croxby, <i>R.</i>	Lincoln . .	John Alington .	Lord Chancellor.
Laceby, <i>R.</i>	Lincoln . .	John Birkett . .	John Fardell, Esq.
Preb. in Cath. Ch. of .	Lincoln . .	G. G. Stonestreet	The Lord Bishop.
Norwich.			
Aldborough, <i>R.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	Robert Shuckburgh	Lord Suffield.
Baconsthorpe, <i>R. and</i> }	Norfolk . .	R. J. C. Alderson	John T. Mott, Esq.
Bodham, <i>R.</i> . . . }			
Bassingham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Norfolk . .	Thomas Arden .	Rev. F. E. Arden.
East and West Rain-	Norfolk . .	Richard Phayre .	William Ainge, Esq.
ham, <i>R.</i> . . . }			
Great Livermere, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . .	A. Asgill Colville	Nath. L. Acton, Esq.
with Little Liver-			
mere, <i>R.</i> }	Norfolk . .	William Pratt .	A. Hamond, Esq.
Harpley, <i>R. and</i> }			
Great Bircham, <i>R.</i> }	Suffolk . .	Tho. D'Eye Betts	F. G. Doughty, Esq.
Martlesham, <i>R.</i> . . . }			
Shottisham, <i>R.</i> . . .	Suffolk . .	J. Wareyn Darby	{ Mrs. Eliz. Darby and Miss Mary Kett.
Shouldham, <i>C. and</i> }	Norfolk . .	Cha. Jos. Orman	
Shouldhamthorpe, <i>C.</i> }			
Sturston, <i>R.</i>	Suffolk . .	Walter Chennery	Sir Edw. Kerrison, Bt.
Tatterford and Tatterset	Norfolk . .	Hon. A. A. Turnour	Sir Charles Chad, Bt.

Preferment.	County.	Preferred.	Patron.
(NORWICH—continued.)			
Tivetshall, St. Mary, R. } ——— St. Marg. R. }	Norfolk . .	J. Neville White	Earl of Orford.
Tottenham, P. C. . .	Norfolk . .	Thomas Watson	Bishop of Ely.
Wheatacre, All Saints, R. } with Mutford, V. } and Barnby, C. . }	Norfolk . . } Suffolk . . }	William Oakes .	Caius College, Camb.
Wicklewood, All Saints, and St. } Andrew, V. . . }	Norfolk . .	M. B. Darby . }	Mrs. Elizabeth Darby, Miss Mary Kett, and Richard Heber, Esq.
Winkfield, C. . . .	Suffolk . .	John Bicker . .	Bishop of Norwich.
Wiston, V.	Suffolk . .	C. E. Birch . .	The King.
Oxford.			
Chalgrove, V. with Berrick, C. . . . }	Oxford . .	R. F. Laurence .	Christ Church, Oxf.
Elsfield, V.	Oxford . .	Richard Gordon	Lady Susan North.
Pyrton, V.	Oxford . .	Tho. V. Durell	Christ Church, Oxf.
Stanlake, R.	Oxford . .	Henry Biddulph	Magdalen Coll. Oxf.
Peterborough.			
Barnack, R.	Northampton	Herbert C. Marsh	Bp. of Peterborough.
Eye, P. C.	Northampton	J. H. Stone . .	The Lord Bishop.
Lois Weedon, V. . .	Northampton	Samuel Smith .	King's Coll. Camb.
Preston Crapes, R. .	Northampton	Anthony Boulton	Sir Charles Knightley.
Tiffield, R.	Northampton	J. Tho. Flesher .	Rev. J. T. Flesher.
Salisbury.			
Choulsey, V. } with Moultsford, C. }	Berks . .	John S. Henslow	Lord Chancellor.
Lamborne, V. . . .	Berks . .	Edw. Thompson	Dean of St. Paul's.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of .	Heytesbury	John Nelson . .	Dean of Salisbury.
Wilton, R. with Nether Hampton, C. }	Wilts . .	J. S. Stockwell .	Earl of Pembroke.
Archdeaconry of . .	Berks . .	Edward Berens }	The Lord Bishop.
Canon Residentiary in Cath. Ch. of . . . }	Salisbury .	Liscombe Clarke }	
St. David's.			
Dale, C. and St. Ishmael, V. . }	Pemb. . .	S. W. Saunders }	L. Phillips, Esq.
Preb. in Coll. Ch. of .	Brecon . .	H. Burn . . .	Lord Chancellor. Bishop of St. David's.
Sodor and Man.			
Archdeacon of . . .	Isle of Man	B. Philpot . .	The King.

CHAPLAINCIES.

Ayre, John, Domestic Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Roden.

Fletcher, W. H., to be one of the Chaplains to the Hon. East India Company.

Hone, Richard Brindley, Domestic Chaplain to the Earl of Haddington.

Orde, L. Shafto, Domestic Chaplain to the Dowager Countess of Roden.

Marsh, William, Domestic Chaplain to Viscount Galway.

LECTURESHIP.

Plumptre, H. S., Alternate Evening Preacher at the Foundling Hospital.

Worthington, W. J., to the Evening Lectureship of St. Clement's Danes, London.

SCHOOLS.

Belin, Charles Joseph, Vice Princip. of Elizabeth College, Guernsey.

Butt, John William, Master of School at Bromley, Kent.

Dobree, Daniel, First Classical Master of Elizabeth College Guernsey.

Harling, J., to the Head Mastership of the Free Grammar School of Chipping Camden, Gloucestershire.

Macaulay, John Heyrick, Head Master of Repton.

Russell, W. J., M.A. to the Mastership of the Grammar School at Chard; Patrons, the Trustees.

Wilton, Edward, Master of Free Grammar School at West Lavington, Wilts.

DECEASED.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Canterbury.			
Feversham, <i>V.</i> . . .	Kent . .	Joshua Dix . .	Dn. & Ch. of Canterb.
Monkton, <i>V. with</i> }	Kent . .	Tufton C. Scott .	Archb. of Canterbury.
Birchington, <i>C.</i> . }			
York.			
Stokesley, <i>R.</i> . . .	N. York .	H. Hildyard . .	The Archbishop.
Yeddingham, <i>V.</i> . .	E. York .	Matth. Mapletoft	Earl Fitzwilliam.
London.			
Bumpstead Helion, <i>V.</i>	Essex . .	Thomas Mills .	Trinity Coll. Camb.
Great Wigborough, <i>R.</i>	Essex . .	Edward Peter .	Henry Bewes, Esq.
Kelvedon Hatch . .	Essex . .	Ambrose Serle .	A. Serle, Esq.
Durham.			
Consliff, <i>V.</i> . . .	Durham .	James Topham .	Bishop of Durham.
Hurworth, <i>R.</i> . . .	Durham .	John Theakston }	W. Hogg & R. H. Wil-
			liamson, Esqrs. <i>alt.</i>
Winchester.			
Kimpton, <i>R.</i> . . .	Hants . .	Edward Foyle .	George Foyle, Esq.
Newport, <i>C.</i> . . .	Isle of Wight	Peter Geary . .	Vicar of Carisbrooke.
Nutfield, <i>R.</i> . . .	Surrey . .	Edm. Sandford .	Jesus Coll. Oxford.
Bath and Wells.			
Puxton, <i>C.</i>	Somerset .	Richard Davies .	Dn. and Ch. of Bristol.
Bristol.			
Bristol, St. Phil. and }	Bristol . .	W. Day . . .	Corporation of Bristol.
Jacob, <i>V.</i> . . . }			
Chilcomb, <i>R.</i> . . .	Dorset . .	Edward Foyle .	Rev. E. Foyle.
Gillingham, <i>V. with</i> }	Dorset . .	Archd. Fisher .	Bishop of Salisbury.
E. & W. Stover, <i>C. and</i> }			
Motcombe, <i>C. and</i> }			
Osmington, <i>V.</i> . . }	Somerset .	Richard Davies	Dn. & Ch. of Bristol.
Churchill, <i>C.</i> . . .			

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Chester.			
Ashworth, C. . . .	Lancashire .	Joseph Selkirk .	W. Egerton, Esq.
Master of School at Rochdale <i>and</i> } Milnrow, C. . . }	Lancashire .	William Hodgson	Vicar of Rochdale.
Chichester.			
Barlavington, R. <i>and</i> } Egdean, R. . . }	Sussex . .	John Crosthwaite	Earl of Egremont.
Exeter.			
Plymouth, Charles, V.	Devon . .	James Carne .	William Carne, Esq.
Gloucester.			
Badgworth, R. <i>and</i> } Eghoys Brewis, R. }	Gloucester } Glamorg. }	Edward Morgan	Jesus Coll. Oxford.
Lichfield & Coventry.			
Barlow, C. <i>and</i> } Brimington, C. . }	Derby . .	Thomas Field . }	Rev. F. Gisborne. Vicar of Eckington.
(<i>And</i> Head Mast. of Free Grammar School at Chesterfield.)			
Lincoln.			
Alwalton, R. . . .	Hunts . .	Henry Freeman	Dn.&Ch. of Peterboro.
Ashby-de-la-Zouch, V.	Leicester .	R. B. Radcliffe .	Marq. of Hastings.
Lillingston Darrell, R. }	Bucks . .	J. L. Dayrell . }	Rev. J. L. Dayrell.
<i>and</i> Stowe, V. . . }			Duke of Buckingham.
Weston, St. Mary, V. .	Lincoln . .	Walter M. Johnson	Lord Chancellor.
Norwich.			
Baconsthorpe, R. <i>and</i> } Bodham, R. . . }	Norfolk . .	T. Girdlestone }	George Chad and R. Fellows, Esq.
Hardingham, R. . .	Norfolk . .	Walter Whiter .	Thomas V. Mott.
Newton, R. . . .	Suffolk . .	John Whitehurst	Clare Hall, Camb.
Shipmeadow . . .	Suffolk . .	R. F. Howman .	Peter House, Camb.
Shottisham, R. <i>and</i> }	Suffolk . .	William Kett . }	R. Suckling, Esq.
Waldringfield, R. }			W. Kett, Esq.
			Nath. Randall, Esq.

Preferment.	County.	Deceased.	Patron.
Oxford.			
Northmore, P. C. . .	Oxford . .	Edw. Parris New	St. John's Coll. Oxf.
Salisbury.			
Bucklebury, V. . . .	Berks . .	W. H. H. Hartley	
Compton Chamberlain, V.	Wilts . .	Tho. Penruddocke	Rev. T. Penruddocke.
Stratford Toney, R. .	Wilts . .	George Taunton	Corp. Chr. Coll. Oxf.

*Name.**Residence or Appointment.*

Eisdell, Thomas	Twyford, near Reading.
George, J. V.	Greenwich.
Goodison, Benj. Croft	Chaplain to his Majesty's Forces at Cape of Good Hope.
Hicks, Gregory, M.A.	Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford.
Jenner, Wm. Andrew	Senior Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.
Richards, Edw. Bridges	Epsom.

MARRIED.

Anstice, Joseph, B.A., Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and Professor of Classical Literature at King's College, London, to Elizabeth Spencer Ruscombe, eldest daughter of Joseph Ruscombe Poole, Esq. of Bridgewater.

Baker, R. H., Rector of Linchmere and Vicar of Hanney, Berks, to Miss Bowles, of the latter place.

Berry, J. W. M.A., Vicar of Foxton, Cambridgeshire, to Jane, youngest daughter of the late R. Gilbert, Esq. of St. John's Square, London.

Biscoe, Robert, M.A., Student and Rhetoric Reader of Christ Church, Oxford, second son of Vincent Hilton Biscoe, Esq. of Hookwood, Surrey, to Anne, eldest daughter of the Rev. Sam. Smith, D.D. late Dean of Christ Church, and Prebendary of Durham.

Boone, T. C., of St. Peter's College, Cambridge, to Amy, daughter of W. T. Brown, Esq. of Dunstable.

Burrows, Joseph, B.D. Senior Fellow of Brasenose College, and Rector of Steeple Aston, Oxford, to Sarah Emma, daughter of the late J. Shorter, Esq. of Bloxham, same county.

Chapman, W. H., M.A. to Elizabeth, only daughter of the late P. Brington, Esq. of Hingham, Norfolk.

Davies, Geo., M.A. Vicar of Grain, Kent, to Mary, daughter of W. Nicholson, Esq.

Edwards, James, Rector of Newington, Oxfordshire, to Jane Mary, eldest daughter of the late Rev. Charles Ballard, Vicar of Chalgrove.

Evans, J. C. of Stoke Poges, Bucks, to Marianne Louisa, eldest daughter of the Rev. J. Day, Rector of North Tuddenham.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE UNIVERSITIES.

OXFORD.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

HONORARY DOCTORS IN CIVIL LAW.

July 4, being Commencement Day.

The Earl of Bandon.

Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Brisbane, K.C.B. F.R.S., &c.

Nicholas Aylward Vigors, Esq., F.R. and L.S., Secretary to the Zoological Society, &c.

J. D'Israeli, Esq., F.S.A., the Historian of Charles the First.

Rev. W. J. Meech, Fellow of New Coll.
Rev. Robey Eldridge, Wadham Coll.
Rev. Lewis Tomlinson, Wadham Coll.

July 5.

John H. Philipps, Oriel College, Grand Compounder.

Rev. Thomas H. Maitland, Oriel Coll.

Todd Thomas Jones, Oriel College.

Rev. J. E. S. Hutchinson, Wadham College.

Henry Bostock, Wadham College.

Rev. G. Cuddington Bethuene, Trinity College.

Rev. Bennett Vere Townshend, Brasenose College.

Thomas Streatfield Lightfoot, Exeter College.

Rev. John Dinning, Queen's College.

Hugh S. Tremenhare, Fellow of New College.

Rev. Henry Samuel Sayce, Pembroke College.

Rev. Wyndham J. Gooden, Oriel Coll.

John Gooden, Corpus Christi Coll.

Samuel C. J. Berdmore, Student of Christ Church.

Rev. T. E. Burrow, M.A. of Queen's College, Cambridge, admitted *ad eundem*.

BACHELORS IN DIVINITY.

July 4.

Rev. Wm. Kay, Fellow of Lincoln Coll.

Rev. Tho. Price, Fellow of Jesus Coll.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

July 4.

Rev. Wm. Gilkes, Pembroke College, Grand Compounder.

Thomas Lewin, Corpus Christi College, Grand Compounder.

Henry Cradock Nowel, Corpus Christi College.

Rev. Alex. Stuart, Alban Hall.

Rev. Rob. Wells Whitford, St. Edmund Hall.

Rev. Daeres Adams, Christ Church.

Rev. Wm. Moore, Christ Church.

Marmaduke R. Jeffreys, Christ Church.

Rev. Henry Curtis Smith, Balliol Coll.

W. Walter Tireman, Demy of Magdalen College.

William Bulley, Demy of Magdalen College.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

July 4.

Cornelius F. Broadbent, St. Mary Hall.

William Offley, University College.

William Higgins, Worcester College.

Edward C. Swainson, Worcester Coll.

William Horatio Edwards, Brasenose College.

Charles Percy Wyatt, Christ Church.

J. C. Burton Borough, Christ Church.

Sam. Ravenshaw Wood, Christ Church.

Thomas Dand, Queen's College.

Thomas Calvert, Queen's College.

Henry Benj. Harenc, Christ Church.

Thomas James, Christ Church.

July 5.

Rev. J. T. C. A. Trenchard, Trinity College, (incorporated from St. John's College, Cambridge.)

MISCELLANEOUS UNIVERSITY INTELLIGENCE.

ELECTIONS.

Benjamin Harrison, B.A. and Student of Christ Church has been appointed to the Hebrew Scholarship on the Pusey and Ellerton Foundation; and James Robert Burgess, B.A. of Oriel College, to that on the Foundation of the late Mrs. Kennicott.

Mr. Thomas Dand and Mr. Thomas Calvert have been elected and admitted Taberdars of Queen's College; Messrs. Joshua Treacy, Joseph Punt, and William Wilson, Scholars on the Old Foundation; and William Andrews, of Exeter College, an Exhibitioner on the Foundation of Sir Francis Bridgman.

Mr. Barne, of Trinity College, and Mr. John Woolley, have been elected Scholars of Exeter College; Mr. Oxnam, of Trinity College, and Mr. Spranger, of Exeter College, Fellows of the same Society.

Edward Cockey, B.A. of Wadham College, has been admitted Actual Fellow of that Society; Edward Walwyn Foley, B.A., and John Bradley Dyne, B.A., have been elected Probationary Fellows; Charles Wadham Diggle, has been elected a Scholar (Founder's Kin) and Edward Whitehead, a Scholar on the Somersetshire Foundation.

The following gentlemen have been admitted Scholars of St. John's College.

Thomas C. H. Leaver, Founder's Kin.

Samuel H. Russell, }

James A. Hessey, } Merchant Tailors.

Geo. Kidd Morell, }

Thomas Ward, Reading.

The same day, John Saltwell Pinkerton, Edward William Vaughan, John Joseph Pratt, Francis John Kitson, were admitted Actual Fellows.

The following gentlemen have been admitted Actual Fellows of Magdalen College:—Rev. H. Linton, M.A.; Rev. William James Butler, M.A.; Henry Horne, B.A.; and the Rev. William Robert Fremantle, B.A.; also, the following gentlemen as Probationary Fellows:—Rev. James Charles Stafford, M.A.; William Palmer, B.A.; and William Walter Tireman, B.A. Afterwards, the following gentlemen were elected Demies:—E. H. Hansell, Diocese of Norwich; Charles Daman, Commoner of Queen's College, Diocese of Winton; Thomas Harding Newman, Commoner of Wadham College, County of Essex; and Francis B. Wells, Commoner of Christ Church, Diocese of Chichester.

July 11.

An Address from this University to his Majesty, expressive of attachment to his Majesty and abhorrence of the late treasonable and premeditated attack on his person at Ascot, was presented by the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Jones, Rector of Exeter College, attended by the Delegates nominated for that purpose, and accompanied by numerous noblemen and other distinguished members of the University; his Majesty returned a most gracious answer, and the members of the deputation had the honour of being severally presented to his Majesty, and of kissing hands. His Majesty appeared highly gratified with the expression of affection and respect thus tendered to him on the part of the University.

The following is a list of those Candidates who have obtained classical distinction in *Disciplinis Mathematicis et Physicis*:—

Class 1.

Henry Jones, Commoner of Jesus Coll.

Charles Edward Lefroy, Commoner of Christ Church.

Frederick Rogers, Commoner of Oriel College.

Edward P. Vaughan, Commoner of Balliol College.

Class 2.

Alfred Menzies, Scholar of Trinity Coll.

Class 3.

None.

Class 4.

Godfrey, T. Baker, Commoner of Christ Church.

H. B. Crommelin, Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

D. Deboudrey, Gentleman Commoner of Magdalen Hall.

Henry N. Loring, Commoner of Exeter College.

Number of Fifth Class, 104.

Examiners.—R. Walker, M.A., Wadham College; A. P. Saunders, M.A., Christ Church, and W. Falconer, M.A., Exeter College.

PRIZES.

Subjects.

CHANCELLOR'S PRIZES.

For Latin Verse.—Carthago.

For an English Essay.—On Emulation.

For a Latin Essay.—De Atticorum Comædia.

SIR ROGER NEWDIGATE'S PRIZE.

For the best Composition in English Verse.—Grenada.

THEOLOGICAL PRIZE.

The analogy of God's dealings with men would not lead us to expect a perpetual succession of miraculous powers in the Church.

CAMBRIDGE.

DEGREES CONFERRED FROM JULY TO SEPTEMBER INCLUSIVE.

DOCTORS IN DIVINITY.

June 31.

Andrew Hudleston, Trinity College.

On Tuesday, July 3, being Commencement Day.

Rev. John Brasse, Trinity College.

Rev. Andrew Hudleston, Trinity Coll.

Rev. William Hewson, St. John's Coll.

BACHELOR IN DIVINITY.

June 31.

Thomas F. Beckwith, Catharine Hall.

DOCTORS IN PHYSIC.

Nicholas Francis Davison, Caius Coll.

John Staunton, Caius College.

July 3.

Edward Beck, Jesus College.

BACHELOR IN PHYSIC.

June 31.

Robert Nairne, Trinity College.

LICENTIATES IN PHYSIC.

July 5.

John Harris, Trinity College.

Frederick John Farre, St. John's Coll.

BACHELORS IN CIVIL LAW.

June 31.

Francis Merewether, Trinity Hall.

Adair Andrew Doria, Trinity Hall.

July 5.

Tho. Webb Greene, Trinity Hall.

MASTERS OF ARTS.

July 3.

KING'S COLLEGE.
Geo. W. Craufurd
Joseph Thackeray
Capel Loft

ST. PETER'S COLL.
George Goldsmith
F. P. Mac Carthy
Edward Phillips
Lamplugh P. Dykes
Thomas Fell
William Tillotson
Thomas Smith
Phelips Hanham
Samuel Barker
Horatio S. Hildyard

CLARE HALL.
James Gorle
George Cooke
John F. Francklin
Edward Bates
Francis Jackson
Charles C. Beaty

PEMBROKE COLL.
Edward Nottidge

CAIUS COLL.
Robert Murphy
Alexander Thurtell
Thomas Ladds
W. S. Parr Wilder
James Macdonald
Charles Bevan
John N. Dickinson
William Plunkett
John Mainwaring

CORP. CHR. COLL.
George Coulcher
Edward Greaves
Barton Lodge
John Netherwood
T. E. Wilyams
Henry Pearse
Richardson Cox

TRINITY COLL.
William Hutt
Charles J. Shaw
John D. Walford
Arthur Pearson
John Pearson
Edward Pote Neale
Samuel N. Kingdon
Robert Pashley
M. A. N. Crawford
John M. Robinson
William Airey
Colin Campbell

William A. Soames
William Ogilby
Jos. R. Marshman
Wm. Hunter Ross
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July 5.

Rev. W. Morell Lawson, St. John's College.

Rev. W. L. Weddall, Catharine Hall.
Rev. Wm. D. Tyson, Catharine Hall.
Rev. John Hurnall, Emmanuel College.
Rev. George Johnson, Sidney College.
H. Parsons, M.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, incorporated M.A. of Trinity Hall, in this University.

BACHELORS OF ARTS.

June 31.

Joseph Thompson, Christ's College.
W. Boyle, B.A., of Trinity College, Dublin, admitted *ad eundem* of this University.

July 11.

An Address from the University to his Majesty expressive of its abhorrence of the outrage committed at Ascot by Dennis Collins, and concluding with praying that under the Divine Blessing his Ma-

jesty might long reign over a loyal and united people, was presented to the King on the throne by the Duke of Gloucester as Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, accompanied by the Registrary, the Representatives of the University, numerous Noblemen and Gentlemen of every degree, amounting to upwards of 200. The King having made a suitable answer, the deputation were most graciously received, and had the honour of kissing his Majesty's hand.

A Grace having passed the Senate to the following effect:—That those to whom the Sunday afternoon turns at St. Mary's and the turns for Christmas Day and Good Friday are assigned, shall, from the 10th day of October, 1832, to the end of May, 1833, provide no other substitute than such as are appointed in conformity with that grace: the following persons have been elected, each for the month to which his name is affixed:—

1832. Oct.—The Hulsean Lecturer.
 Nov.—Rev. Prof. Musgrave, Trin.
 Dec.—Rev. Temple Chevallier, Ca.
 1833. Jan.—Rev. T. S. Hughes, Emman.
 Feb.—Rev. C. Davies, Christ Coll.
 Mar.—Rev. R. W. Evans, Trin.
 Apr.—The Hulsean Lecturer.
 May.—Rev. H. J. Rose, Trin.

ELECTIONS.

June 31.

Graces passed to appoint Mr. Henshaw, of Trinity College, Deputy Proctor in the absence of Mr. Musgrave; and Mr. Burdakin, of Clare Hall, Deputy Proctor in the absence of Mr. Currie.

Richard Paul Amphlett, B.A., and Charles Shorting, B.A., of St. Peter's College, have been elected Foundation Fellows of that Society; and Thomas Fell, B.A., and William Tillotson, B.A., Fellows on the Gisborne Foundation.

The Rev. George Maddison, B.A., of Jesus College, has been elected a Skirne Fellow of Catharine Hall.

COMBINATION PAPER, 1832.

PRIOR COMB.

- Aug. 5. Mr. Norman, Pet.
 12. Mr. Serjeantson, Cath.
 19. Mr. Randolp, Clar.
 26. Mr. James, Jes.

- Sep. 2. Coll. Regal.
 9. Coll. Trin.
 16. Coll. Joh.
 23. Mr. Whitehurst, Pet.
 30. Mr. South, Pemb.
 Oct. 7. Mr. Paske, Clar.
 14. Mr. Chennery, Jes.
 21. Coll. Regal.
 28. COMMEN. BENEFACT.
 Nov. 4. Coll. Trin.
 11. Coll. Joh.
 18. Mr. Montgomery, Pet.
 25. Mr. Simpson, Pemb.
 Dec. 2. Mr. Calcraft, Clar.
 9. Mr. Oakes, Jes.
 16. Coll. Regal.
 23. Coll. Trin.
 30. Coll. Joh.

POSTER COMB.

- Aug. 5. Mr. Gleadall, Cath.
 12. Mr. Foley, Emman.
 19. Mr. Conyngham, Pet.
 24. FEST. S. BART. Mr. Currie, Pemb.
 26. Mr. Fisher, Pet.
 Sep. 2. Mr. Cory, Emman.
 9. Mr. Hodgson, Pet.
 16. Mr. Nepean, Trin.
 21. FEST. S. MATT. Mr. Crick, Joh.
 23. Mr. Kerrich, Chr.
 29. FEST. S. { Mr. Rusby, Cath.
 MICH. { Mr. Myers, Trin.
 30. Mr. Field, Trin.
 Oct. 7. Mr. Stephenson, Joh.
 14. Mr. C. Jeffreys, Joh.
 18. FEST. S. LUC. Mr. Dicken, Corp.
 21. Mr. Howarth, Joh.
 28. FEST. SS. SIM. ET JUD. Mr. Norman, Cath.
 Nov. 1. FEST. OM. { Mr. Buller, Regal.
 SANCT. { Mr. Hicks, Magd.
 4. Mr. Attwood, Trin.
 11. Mr. Stoddart, Chr.
 18. Mr. Thomas, Corp.
 25. Mr. Glover, Joh.
 30. FEST. S. AND. Mr. Osborne, Pet.
 Dec. 2. Mr. Furnival, Regin.
 9. Mr. Jackson, Joh.
 16. Mr. Tomlinson, Joh.
 21. FEST. S. THOM. M. Petit, Trin.
 23. Mr. Pearce, Joh.
 25. FEST. NATIV. Mr. Kempson, Trin.
 26. FEST. S. STEPH. Mr. Birch, Joh.
 27. FEST. S. JOH. Mr. Speer, Trin.
 28. FEST. INNOC. Mr. Evans, Clar.
 30. Mr. Sandys, Regin.

<i>Resp. in Theolog.</i>	<i>Oppon.</i>	<i>Resp. in Jur. Civ.</i>	<i>Oppon.</i>
Mr. G. A. Browne,	{ Mr. Evans, jun., Clar. Mr. Green, Jes. Coll. Regal. Coll. Trin.	Mr. Bennett, Emni,	{ Mr. Dugmore, Cai. Mr. Hanbury, Emni.
Trin.			
Mr. Blakeney, Joh.			{ Mr. Borrett, Cai. Mr. Wilmot, Cai.
Mr. Gimingham.	{ Mr. Gould, Chr. Mr. C. Hyde, Pemb. Mr. Brett, Corp. Mr. Engleheart, Cai.	<i>Resp. in Medic.</i>	
		Mr. Gibbes, Down.	

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THE

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